Increasing Ethical Awareness
The Enhancement of Long-Term Effects of Ethics Teaching: A Quantitative Study
Teke, Hans

2019

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):

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Is there a formula for ethics teaching more effective than others, if the purpose is to make a difference as to how students relate and respond to ethical problems in their own lives? And, if so, what would that formula look like? Would it be anything similar to ethics teaching as it is “generally” performed or would it be something entirely different? In this thesis, some results are presented that might give us a clue.

By performing a large impact study, Hans Teke has compared two different “methods” for teaching ethics as part of the religious education in the Swedish upper secondary school, with regard to their capacity to increase long-term ethical awareness. What he found was that the teaching method used in the intervention group, the Three Step Model, appears to make the students develop more compared to “regular” ethics teaching, not least with regard to demonstrable knowledge in ethical problem-solving. This indicates that the method has a promising potential that deserves to be further explored in different settings, of course with the goal of making it even more efficient.
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INCREASING ETHICAL AWARENESS
Increasing Ethical Awareness

The Enhancement of Long-Term Effects of Ethics Teaching: A Quantitative Study

Hans Teke
To Mili for your patience and support.
In moral upbringing, what one learns is not to behave in conformity with rules of conduct, but to see situations in a special light, as constituting reasons for acting; this perceptual capacity, once acquired, can be exercised in complex novel circumstances, not necessarily capable of being foreseen and legislated for by a codifier of the conduct by virtue, however wise and thoughtful he might be.

John McDowell
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During these years as a doctoral student I have had Edward O Wilson’s motto in my mind that a researcher should ideally “think like a poet, work like a bookkeeper and write like a journalist”. Perhaps, to some degree, I have been able to follow it as well. But it is an approach to research that takes a lot of time and requires patience and support from others. Had I not been taken care of by a large number of wise, good-hearted and highly qualified people during these years, it would not have been possible to accomplish this thesis. I am especially grateful to my main supervisor, philosopher Johannes Persson and my assistant supervisor, psychologist Per Johnsson, who with steady hands have guided me to the point where I am now. The meetings with you were always helpful and enjoyable.

I am also grateful to all the upper secondary school teachers who have been my informants out in the field, because without you I would not have had any results to discuss; to my external readers Paul Kelley, Sinikka Neuhaus, Lars Samuelsson and Margareta Teke for your wise and clever remarks; to Eva Davidsson for helping me with some additional operations in the statistics program; and to Markus Untinen (my devoted colleague from Leksands gymnasium) for being an excellent discussion partner.

Finally, I am grateful to all my colleagues at the Department of Educational Sciences, led by Anders Persson and Roger Johansson, for all the help, advice and encouragement you have given me during these years, and of course to all the people I know outside the department, not least my parents and brother with family, for supporting me in so many ways. It has all been invaluable.

Helsingborg and Lund, August 2019
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1. ABOUT THIS STUDY

Introduction

Origins

Is it possible, during a small number of lessons in upper secondary school, (covering the ages of 16–19) to teach ethics in a way that makes a difference in the minds of the students, months or even years afterwards? If so, what kind of difference would that be? And how should we teach in order to bring it about?

During my ten years as a teacher in the Swedish school system, I became increasingly concerned by the prospect that most of the things I did with the students would, in a short period of time, be forgotten by them. Successful lessons, yes, interesting discussions, yes, good results in some cases, yes, but how much of it will be embedded? That was my issue and still is. How much of my efforts as a teacher will make a difference when the school day is over, such as when a parent notices that the teenage child is writing better, giving better arguments or using a more sophisticated language? Or just discovers that “the kid has really become more knowledgeable”? How much of what is going on in school is really learning, in the sense that you learn something and then you know it?

Although – or just because – these questions are so fundamental, I never heard them being discussed, not during my teacher’s training, nor during my years in the profession. It seems that the most common way of handling them is simply not to ask them, perhaps for the reason that deep in our minds we
suspect they would not yield any encouraging answers. (When I asked a principal if we could have a teachers’ education day about how to make the students acquire knowledge for life, he responded that the issue was “not on the agenda” because it was “sensitive.”) So, we instead choose to put our efforts into the differences we know that we can make in the students’ lives, such as guiding them towards better formal results.

But I was never content with this, as I believed that one could do much more than that. But it would require a different perspective on education. One would, for example, have to be less focused on all the content the students should learn during a semester and more one the ways in which the content was selected, planned and presented, because that way I believed one could serve both the students and the curriculum better. Also, one would have to acknowledge the fact that exposure to teaching is not the same as learning – at least not if one defines learning as something that will be retained in memory. I knew for myself that learning for the long-term memory was not easy; on the other hand, it happens all the time, even if it normally takes place outside the classroom. But sometimes it happens in the classroom as well, so the question is: what makes it happen? How should one select, plan and present the content in order to increase the likelihood that learning for the long-term memory, and preferably for life, will actually take place?

Even though there are some general principles for this, to which I return later, the answers will significantly depend on which subjects (and of course what kind of long-term memories) one talks about. Personally, I was a teacher in philosophy, religious education and Swedish. Philosophy, with its careful examination of logical structures, interested me the most. Within this subject, I was mostly interested in the problems of mind and body, free will and the external world – ethics, or moral philosophy, was never my greatest theoretical passion.

But in ethics, which was also an important aspect of the religious education (in Sweden a mandatory but non-confessional subject), I discovered something else: the potential for engaging the students and not just those who were philosophically inclined. Besides having opinions about what would be the right thing to do for a person with an ethical problem, they were often able to offer wise and well-reasoned justifications too. This was particularly the case when ethics were discussed without any interference by normative theories. But then, when these were introduced as alternative models for solving these problems, ethics became abstract to many students, I felt, and it was
no longer that obvious what the subject had to do with their personal lives. It became, in short, less relevant to them.

My vision

This, in combination with my belief that ethics teaching, when at its best, could help people achieve an optimal balance in their lives between the consideration of their own needs and the needs of others, made me interested in developing the ethics section in a way that had the potential to engage the students and influence their ways of relating to ethical issues even more than it had done before. Planned and presented to them in the most efficient way (with normative theories not introduced too early), it could make them understand, for example, that the ethically right choice may not always be the one most effectively preventing conflicts in the short term. It could give them confidence in their abilities to handle ethical problems even when they are difficult and serve as a preparation for the ethical demands of a modern, fast-changing society, where values and norms seem more relative than ever and where the individual has to deal with problems of a kind that were inconceivable just a few decades ago (as these have to do with 24/7 connectivity). In short, it could help them develop ethical skills for an increasingly unpredictable world.

But in order for this to be realized, ethics teaching would need a new formula, I gathered; a method not based upon tradition or “common sense” but upon research about how a certain long-term result could actually be achieved. Ideally, this would be a method that would generate the greatest possible outcomes during the shortest possible teaching period, would be easy to implement in the classroom and possible to transfer to other educational levels. Thereby, it would be well in line with the decree in the Swedish school law from 2010, stating that education should be based upon scientific grounds and proven experience.¹

¹ Skolverket (2010), p. 5.
A possible way to realize this

Absorbed by this idea, I started to inquire ethics teaching and moral development in scientific papers and books. The general message that the material conveyed to me, and which we return to later in this chapter, was that in order to achieve the greatest effects on the students (hopefully also in the long term), the ethics teaching should focus directly on transmitting procedural knowledge, i.e. exercising their cognitive skills for ethical reasoning/problem-solving.\(^2\) Even more importantly, a series of Swedish studies indicated that the skill for autonomous problem-solving could be developed in a lasting way by just some instruction and training.\(^3\) With a devoted colleague, I thoroughly discussed how this finding (which we return to in Chapter 2) could be implemented in the classroom. The result was a master’s thesis in religion in which I made the case for the Three Step Model,\(^4\) a teaching method I had worked out in dialogue with the students and which my colleague had also used in his classes. We both found it working very well. I even tested my students a month after examination and discovered that their knowledge was well retained.\(^5\) This made me interested in placing the Three Step Model in a larger scientific context, elaborating upon the ideas behind it and testing it on a larger scale with a control condition to see how effective it really was. This is what has been done in this study.

As it is a method rather than content, the Three Step Model (and the teachers’ instructions that go along with it) concerns the “how” rather than the “what” of ethics teaching and ethical problem-solving. Even though it entails a number of problems to be discussed with the students and exemplifies some good solutions to these as well, neither the problems nor the solutions are really its point (nor are the normative theories that the solutions should be related to). The point is that it provides a structure for the teacher to follow as s/he develops the students’ abilities to (1) recognize an ethical problem, (2) solve it with arguments from the concrete situation (i.e., autonomously) and


\(^4\) Teke (2012), p 12 f.

\(^5\) This, unfortunately, was never documented formally.
(3) relate the chosen solution to a normative theory (what these steps mean is explained in more detail in Chapter 4). As Religion 1 is the only course in the upper secondary school with an ethics section and that is mandatory, the method was primarily developed to be used in this course (even though it may obviously be used in philosophy as well).

**Ethical awareness**

Apart from making the students acquire knowledge about normative ethics prescribed in the subject syllabus for Religion 1, the purpose of the Three Step Model is to help them increase their ethical awareness in the long term. In the specific sense that the concept is used in this study, it means that they become better at recognizing ethical problems and their possible solutions, that they become more attentive to situations in which a moral decision has to be made (by someone). A desirable implication of this is that they also become more attentive to their own moral behavior and thus, hopefully, more inclined to make well-reasoned decisions. It is an ethical awareness that has to do with how one perceives and interacts with the world, the increase of which means that one sees ethical problems in situations where one did not see them before (perhaps because one did not look for them). One could say that this is a necessary but insufficient condition for being able and ready to solve ethical problems autonomously, but I hypothesize that exercising moral autonomy will increase ethical awareness as well.

This is not to say that there cannot be other, and very relevant, motives for teaching ethics than the one described above. One could, for example, have the goal to make the students understand the essential differences between the most important moral philosophical schools during the last 200 years. The knowledge they acquire this way can also be called “ethical awareness” but it is of a more theoretical kind and will probably be best increased by more traditional approaches to ethics teaching (at least, the Three Step Model was not primarily developed to increase it). Or one could have the

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7 This is close to what Rest (1986, p. 5 f.) defined as component 1 in his four-component model of morality; that is, a sensitivity for when one could do something that would affect the interest, welfare or expectations of others.
goal to make them form their own opinions on a number of contemporary ethical issues (such as climate change, human rights, abortion, euthanasia and capital punishment). The knowledge they acquire this way will probably be closer to ethical awareness of the kind described above, but I do believe that if the focus is on problems of a societal character rather than problems of a more individual and everyday character (which societal problems can also be at times) the teaching has small chances of affecting how the students relate to these. One has to go down to the individual and everyday level (sometimes by addressing the students’ real and personal ethical problems) in order to make a lasting difference there. That is my basic assumption.

The aim of this study

So, the primary question in this study on the didactics of ethics is the following. If we assume that ethical awareness of the kind described above is a desirable outcome of ethics teaching, does the Three Step Model (and other similar methods) have a greater potential than more traditional forms of ethics teaching to increase this and, if so, what may be the reasons? As many variables interplay in a classroom (which is a reason why many educational researchers hesitate to even try measuring effects), it will perhaps not be possible to come all the way to an answer within a single study. But in order to come a bit closer to one, a number of possible statistical relationships will be investigated as a foundation for the discussion.

Besides the most important possible relationship, the one between teaching method and results, could there be other interesting relationships, for example between study orientation and results? This is a likely relationship, as previous research has indicated that higher-achieving students in general show a higher degree of ethical awareness than lower-achieving students\(^8\) (which makes it plausible to expect that students from higher education preparatory

\(^8\) Altmyer et al. (2011), p. 41.
And could there be a relationship between gender and results? This question is interesting because at least since the 1970-s, there has been a discussion among researchers regarding possible gender differences in morality (which we will return to in Chapter 2). We do not know if, or to what extent, male and female morality differ in character but there has been meta-analytic research indicating that females have a higher degree of ethical sensitivity than males – therefore this is a likely relationship as well. And if these relationships can be detected, what could be the reasons for them? By giving some tentative answers to these questions, I hope to shed some light not just on the conditions for ethics teaching but for teaching in general and on the possibilities to evaluate and improve it by means of impact studies like this one.

How the study was conducted

Representation of regular teaching

In order to prevent the very design of the study from favoring the method it sets out to test, some important steps had to be taken. One of these was to let regular ethics teaching be represented not merely by habitual ways of teaching, but by the use of a basic teaching guide, which allowed the teacher to teach basically the way s/he was used to, but with some added guidelines that made his/her teaching comparable to the Three Step Model. Thereby, I hoped to rule out the possibility of outcome differences only due to the fact that some of the teachers had received instructions and some had not. Also, it made the two “methods” for ethics teaching similar in some respects despite

9 In Swedish upper secondary school, the programs are divided into vocational and higher education preparatory. The grade average is normally higher at the higher education preparatory programs. (Skolverket 2017, p. 3).


their great dissimilarities, which would make it easier to track the reasons behind possible outcome differences.

**Pre- and post-test**

Another step was to ensure that the effectiveness of the two “methods” was assessed by a relatively neutral standard: an assessment aiming to measure the potential of the teaching to increase the students’ ethical awareness irrespective of which “method” the teacher had used. The assessment was divided into a *pre-test*, for the students to complete before the teacher had introduced the ethics section, and a *post-test* for them to complete 10–12 weeks after the examination. This might not seem like a very long time but considering the fact that most of what we try to learn, as a general rule, is forgotten within a week without repetition, it is a considerable delay.¹²

The purpose of the pre-test was to find out which demonstrable (procedural and declarative) knowledge they had in advance. The purpose of the post-test was twofold: to see how much their *self-assessed* ethical awareness had increased as a result of the teaching (part A) and how much their *demonstrable* knowledge about ethics had increased since the pre-test (part B). In other words, two complementary measures were used to assess the long-term effectiveness of the ethics teaching. The first had the advantage of showing how the students *themselves* estimated its impact. The second had the advantage of showing how much knowledge the students could *actually* retrieve from their long-term memory, compared to how much they knew from the beginning. In both measures, there were some items that were particularly relevant for what the measure aimed to capture and these were studied separately to make the assessment sharper.

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Box 1:
The two main parts of the assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-test</th>
<th>Post-test</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measured which demonstrable (procedural and declarative) knowledge about ethics the students had in advance.</td>
<td>Measured (A) how the students' self-assessed ethical awareness had increased as a result of the teaching and (B) how their demonstrable knowledge about ethics had increased since the pre-test.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two sub-studies

In all, the study involved 15 teachers and 524 students in Religion 1 (most of them were in the third grade, albeit some of them in the second) at 11 public upper secondary schools in the south of Sweden. In Sub-study 1, a cohort of students whose teachers had been using the Three Step Model (intervention condition) was compared to a cohort whose teachers had been using the basic teaching guide (control condition). The primary purpose of this sub-study was to find out if there was a significant outcome difference between the conditions, which would indicate that one of the “methods” yielded more powerful results than the other.

There was, however, a limitation in this sub-study as the set of teachers in the two conditions was not the same, which entailed a risk that there would be outcome differences only due to the fact that one of the conditions may have had more skillful or charismatic teachers than the other. In order to balance this risk, I decided to also make a smaller, complementary study where the teachers would be the same.

So, in Sub-study 2, three of the teachers who had used the basic teaching guide in Sub-study 1 also agreed to use the Three Step Model in a few similar classes. The results from these classes were then compared to the teachers’ results in Sub-study 1 in order to find out if the same teachers using different “methods” would lead to any difference in the results. Answering this could help clarify whether or not the “method” was the key variable and thus whether the results in Sub-study 1 were really caused by the ways in which the teaching was planned and presented.
A note on previous research

Even though they cannot be entirely separated but overlap to some extent, the relevant previous studies have here (for outlining purposes) been divided into two categories. There are, first of all, pedagogic-didactic studies about ethics teaching in formal education and which results it can achieve. What characterizes these is that they do not necessarily use (established) psychological measures to evaluate the results but are always conducted in a school or university setting. Since this study belongs to that category, it is of a general interest and will thus be reviewed in this chapter.

Second, there are psychological studies about moral development and what can be done to promote this. What characterizes these is that they always evaluate their results by means of psychological measures, normally originating from the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg, but that they are not necessarily conducted in a school or university setting. Since the Three Step Model was developed on the basis of such research, it is of a more specific interest and will thus be reviewed in Chapter 2 (as a background to the Three Step Model, which is explained in detail in Chapter 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-study 1</th>
<th>Sub-study 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven teachers followed the Three Step Model (intervention condition) and eight followed the basic teaching guide (control condition).</td>
<td>Three teachers who followed the basic teaching guide in Sub-study 1 (control condition) also agreed to follow the Three Step Model in a few additional study groups (intervention condition).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research at the secondary school level

Overview

Whether or not “ethics teaching” in secondary school is a well-researched area depends, to a large extent, on how one defines it. In a wider sense, it can denote every attempt to discuss moral values, or the ethical aspects of a specific phenomenon, with the students. With this definition, any teacher can (and should, according to the national curriculum\textsuperscript{13}) be an ethics teacher when the situation calls for it. This, for example, was the case with the 15 technology teachers in the Swedish upper secondary school system whom Kåreklint (2007) interviewed for his doctoral thesis regarding which vocabulary they preferred to use when the ethical aspects of technology development were to be discussed with the students.\textsuperscript{14}

However, as this is a study about ethics teaching in a more specific sense, the term has here been defined more narrowly, as a separate curricular event exclusively devoted to (an introduction in) ethics or moral philosophy, preferably with an examination of its own, even though its character can obviously vary depending on the educational context. With this definition, it becomes a lot easier to tell the difference between what ethics teaching is and what it is not and thereby know which previous research is the most relevant. Without such a definition, this would be almost impossible.

Using the research databases ERIC, PsychInfo, PQDT and SwePub to seek information about “ethics,” “teaching” and “secondary school,” one finds an enormous amount of studies, most of which are not directly relevant for this study, as they are not about ethics teaching (in the narrower sense). The only previous (published) doctoral thesis I have found specifically about ethics teaching in secondary school was written by Vestol (2004). Based on a sociocultural approach to learning, it compared the verbal tools used by Norwegian students when they wrote about moral issues with the verbal tools that

\textsuperscript{13} Skolverket (2010), p. 138.

\textsuperscript{14} Kåreklint (2007) p. 5 f.
were used in didactic textbooks.\textsuperscript{15} Regarding ethics teaching in Sweden, Franck et al. published an e-book (2017) in which they, among other things, discussed the meaning of abilities such as ethical competence and critical thinking, which should be developed by the religious education in compulsory school (up to age 16).\textsuperscript{16} Franck was also a co-author of the first Swedish textbook about the didactics of ethics, which came out in 2015 and (just like this study) prescribed a focus on realistic moral problems rather than abstract, normative theories.\textsuperscript{17} Just as the case with Kåreklint’s and Vestol’s studies and most didactic research today, these publications were based on a qualitative research methodology.\textsuperscript{18} Studies like this one, measuring the effects of a specific teaching approach in comparison with another, are very rare (perhaps because they are relatively difficult to carry out without some pre-existing knowledge in statistics).\textsuperscript{19} But the rare ones that do exist (about ethics teaching in secondary school) are much easier to relate to this study than the many studies that do not measure effects; therefore, they will be considered the most relevant examples of previous research.

A search in ERIC on the string ethics teaching AND secondary school generated 764 hits. But when alternative terms were added in an extended search on ethics teaching OR teaching ethics OR ethics instruction OR ethics course OR moral philosophy AND high school OR secondary school NOT university, it generated 239,547 hits. When the string AND impact study OR effect study OR result study was added to specify the search, the number grew slightly smaller: 237,421. And when the search was narrowed down even more by the use of quotation marks around the key words (“ethics teaching” OR “teaching ethics”…) the whole string generated a considerably smaller

\textsuperscript{15} Vestol (2004), p. 16 f.
\textsuperscript{16} Franck et. al (2017) p. 5 f.
\textsuperscript{17} Franck & Lövstedt (2015), p. 7 f.
\textsuperscript{18} Another example of this, albeit at the primary school level, is Anderström’s (2017 p. 5 f.) licentiate thesis in which she interviewed 13 teachers about their ideas concerning content, methods and strategies in ethics education as a part of social studies.
\textsuperscript{19} This may especially be the case in Sweden. In a research review it was found that only six per cent of the doctoral theses in pedagogy published between 1997 and 2006 included effect evaluations, and only one of them was based on a randomized controlled trial (Heller-Sahlgren & Sanandaji 2019, p. 126).
number of hits: 502, which I decided to use as a starting point. But even with this reduction, the majority of the articles found were not about ethics teaching in secondary school. Instead, they were typically about ethics teaching at university (or, sometimes, primary school) level or not about ethics teaching at all (in the narrower sense). Several of them were about the ethical codes of teachers and other staff in school. One was about character education, meaning curricular attempts to foster qualities such as forgiveness, sympathy and kindness in high school students; for example, by discussing their behavior when needed (an endeavor in which everyone in the school community should be involved).

Scarcely 30 were really about ethics teaching in secondary school, but only a few of them could be classified as impact studies. Instead, they typically discussed the possibility to implement ethics teaching as a standard element in American high schools. The authors of these include Harris & Hoyle, who discussed the pros and cons in relation to the transmission of moral values to secondary school students, Norquist who promoted the teaching of ethics in junior high school, believing that the emotional and physical changes experienced at this age (as well as the need for acceptance of belonging) place a high value on the teaching of the decision-making process and Furniss who

20 The last search, with quotation marks around the key words, was performed several times, the last one on May 5, 2019.


22 An interesting study that came up in the search, but was not included among the scarcely 30, was a one carried out in Israel. Within a pre-, post-, and post-post-intervention design, high school students were divided into three research groups. The intervention group consisted of science students who were exposed to teaching strategies designed for enhancing higher order thinking skills (such as open-ended classroom discussions). Two other groups, science and non-science majors, were taught traditionally and acted as control groups. By using critical thinking assessment instruments, the authors found that the intervention group showed a statistically significant improvement on critical thinking skills, such as truth-seeking, open-mindedness, self-confidence and maturity, compared with the control groups (Miri et al., 2007, p. 353 f.) The reason why this study was not included was that it was about critical thinking rather than ethics teaching. But, of course, it can be used as a source of inspiration for anyone who wants to develop ethics teaching by adding critical thinking exercises.

23 Harris & Hoyle (1990), p. 17.

argued for the importance of ethics teaching as an equalizer to the relativizing of values in modern society.\(^{25}\)

Alternatively, they made the case for a certain teaching approach that the authors had found useful. Among the authors of these, we find Wiggins who taught ethics in the form of a Socratic seminar in which the ability to give space to others was a criterion for higher grades,\(^{26}\) Goodwin et al. who let students in bioethics pretend that they were part of an ethics committee,\(^{27}\) Lennon et al. who let students discuss what they would do as drivers of a runaway train threatening to kill a number of people (the trolley dilemma)\(^{28}\) and Prager who designed a semester-long course in ethics, in which the students debated a series of complex subjects, such as abortion, animal rights, the environment, poverty and racism, and wrote a number of papers in which they, among other things, discussed an ethical dilemma in their own lives.\(^{29}\)

Only four of the scarcely 30 articles about ethics teaching in secondary school met the criteria of (A) being about ethics or moral philosophy as a separate curricular event and (B) aiming to measure the effects of a specific teaching approach. These articles are reviewed below.

**Mortier**

In a Belgian study from 1995, Mortier tried to answer some questions; for example, if there was any difference in the level of moral development between secondary school students who had attended a Roman Catholic religion course (aiming to foster a more “conventional” moral attitude) and students who had attended a course in non-denominational ethics; that is, values education (aiming to make the students reason more autonomously and in a critical spirit). To find out, he let 631 students from six city schools in East Flanders complete a DIT (a multiple choice test measuring the level of moral reasoning) and a more general questionnaire regarding, for example, what


\(^{27}\) Goodwin et al. (2012), p. 1 f.

\(^{28}\) Lennon et al. (2015), p. 178 f.

\(^{29}\) Prager (1993), p 32 f.
kind of course they had chosen to take and whether or not they identified themselves as Christians.

The results showed that the difference between the two teaching conditions was very small but significant. The moral reasoning of the students who had taken the Roman Catholic religion course was slightly more advanced than the reasoning of those who had attended the non-confessional ethics course (i.e., the values education). But, on the other hand, the moral reasoning of the students who identified themselves Christians was slightly less advanced than the reasoning of those who considered themselves non-religious. The author concluded that either the values education had no substantial effect on the students’ moral development (more than the religion course) or it did have an effect but not one influencing the moral reasoning level measured by the DIT. He also speculated that even though the Christians scored lower in formal moral reasoning, there were probably other gains in morality from being religious, as research has shown that religious people are, for example, more prone to give money to charitable organizations.30

Pass & Willingham

In an American high school civics class, Kantian ethics and virtue ethics were introduced to 34 students by teachers Pass & Willingham (2009) in order to improve their abilities to solve moral dilemmas. The students then worked, in small groups, with both hypothetical and real-life cases; they were instructed to solve them in a way that could, in principle, be compatible with both philosophies. After finding an optimal solution to one of them, they discussed it with the rest of the class. Even though there was no control group, the intervention was successful, according to the authors. All measures (including post-test, quality of presentations and self-assessment) showed that the students, during the intervention, significantly improved their ability to make ethical judgments and support them with arguments.31

Niederjohn et al.

Using a material called “Ethical Foundations,” covering 10 lessons, a number of high school teachers in the US led by Niederjohn et al. (2009) gave 789 civic students a profound introduction in economy and ethics (which included discussion and role play). The aim was to see if the introduction would increase their theoretical knowledge and improve their ethical attitudes (what they considered right or wrong). They were compared to a control group of 86 students who did not receive this introduction.

Results showed that from pre- to post-test, the students in the intervention group significantly increased their theoretical knowledge (for example, about the difference between rational self-interest and greed), whereas the students in the control group did not. In this respect, the intervention was successful. However, the ethical attitudes in the intervention group did not significantly improve as a result of the introduction. This made the authors draw the conclusion that “though we can teach students how to identify and discuss ethical issues as part of the social studies curriculum […] the personal values that drive their attitudes to ethical issues may be more resistant to change.”32

deHaan et al.

In a study performed by deHaan et al. (1997) in order to identify the most effective strategy for promoting “comprehensive moral maturity,” 54 students at an American high school were divided into four classes with different approaches to ethics teaching, all of which ran for a whole semester and were mainly taught by the same teacher.

In the first class, introductory ethics, the students were exposed to a standard introductory course, covering the foundations of philosophical ethics and giving them opportunities to discuss moral dilemmas. In the second class, economics ethics, the teacher integrated portions of the same ethics introduction into an established economics course (in order to place the ethical problems in a real-life context). In the third class, role model ethics, the students were exposed to the same ethics introduction as in the first class, while six

32 Niederjohn et al. (2009), p. 78.
graduate students from a local university served as teacher’s assistants. Their job was to be role models; in other words, to help the students develop their moral maturity in the area they were specialized in. A fourth class, the control group, did not receive any ethics introduction at all.33

To keep track of the students’ moral development, they were all tested during the first and last week of the semester. The aim was to measure their development in the three classical domains: moral cognition (how we reason about ethical issues),34 moral emotion (our inclinations for empathy and guilt)35 and moral behavior (how we would act in a morally problematic situation).36 The results showed the following:

**Box 3:**
Interpretation of the results from deHaan et al. (1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introductory ethics class</th>
<th>Degree of moral cognition increased significantly; degree of moral emotion did not increase significantly; degree of moral behavior increased significantly.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economics ethics class</td>
<td>Degree of moral cognition increased significantly; degree of moral emotion did not increase significantly; degree of moral behavior increased significantly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role model ethics class</td>
<td>No significant development; degree of moral emotion decreased significantly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control group</td>
<td>No significant change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other words, only the introductory ethics and the economics ethics class exhibited a significant development in comprehensive moral maturity.37 But why did the role model approach not have any significant impact? The authors analyzed this further to find out. The teacher’s assistants (graduate students) were appreciated by the students and discussed moral issues with them,

33 deHaan et al. (1997), p. 5 f.
34 This was measured by the Sociomoral Reflection Objective Measure (SROM) and the Defining Issues Test (DIT).
35 This was measured by the Emotional Empathic Tendency Scale (EETS) and the Test of Self-Conscious Affect (TOSCA).
36 This was measured by the Visions of Morality Scales (VMS).
37 deHaan et al. (1997), p. 5 f.
but they did not to any large extent use the method of letting the students try to solve moral dilemmas (in small groups), which may have contributed to the failure. The fact that none of the classes saw significant increases in moral emotion was also commented on by the authors. Earlier findings suggest that cognitive moral development may be weakly associated with increased empathy; that, on the contrary, empathy becomes obstructed (temporarily) when a more rational perspective is introduced.38

Comments

In all these four studies, the authors have taken the step from just assuming that (or wondering if) a certain teaching approach is beneficial to actually evaluating it by measuring its impact. In the first study, this was done in the form of a “natural experiment,” in the last three studies, this was done in the form of an intervention in regular practice, and in the last two in the form of a non-randomized controlled trial. The very last study, in particular, raises fundamental questions regarding how ethics should be taught, the relationship between moral cognition and emotion and what the role of the teacher should be. We return to these questions later in the study.

Research at the university level

Overview

While the material on ethics teaching in secondary school is scarce, the material on the same subject at university is so rich that it is difficult to get an overview. This is especially the case when it comes to impact studies. A reason for this could be that ethics teaching at university level (outside the departments of theology and philosophy) normally has a very instrumental purpose: it is there to prevent the students from engaging in immoral behavior in their

38 Ibid.
future professions. So, if it does not do this, it is seen as a waste of money and could just as well be discarded.39

Hundreds of studies have thus been published throughout the years, either giving teaching tips, discussing the pros and cons of a specific teaching approach or comparing different approaches regarding which one is the most effective. These studies, however, are difficult to compare, as all departments and every author appear to have their own idea about what ethics teaching should lead to and how the outcomes should be measured (though many of them use the Defining Issues Test, which is explained in Chapter 2).

It was thus very helpful to learn that two meta-analyses were published in 2009; the first concerning ethics instruction40 in the sciences and the second concerning business ethics instruction. Both of them aimed to improve the teaching practice (in their respective areas) by identifying the characteristics of the instructional programs that generated the largest effect sizes, relative to the measure of progress that was used in the respective study.

**Antes et al.**

Twenty individual studies about ethics instruction in the sciences (drawn from 140) were included in an analysis by Antes et al. (2009). Regarding the general approach to instruction, the instructional programs were roughly classified into three categories. These were ethical sensitivity (i.e., instructions mainly focusing on the ability to recognize an ethical problem), moral development (i.e., instructions mainly focusing on developing abilities to handle ethical issues, such as teaching the students to use normative theories) and ethical problem-solving (i.e., instructions mainly focusing on teaching the students to analyze an ethical problem carefully before suggesting a solution.) The largest effect sizes, the authors concluded, were gained by the problem-solving approach to instruction, especially when it was cognitive in nature and covered possible reasoning errors (such as making overly hasty decisions).

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40 The word *instruction* (which was the word used in the meta-analyses) in this section refers to *teaching*, but in the rest of the study it only refers to the act of giving someone (like a teacher) instructions (i.e., guidelines to follow).
Other factors they took into account was whether the instruction was case-based or lecture-based, whether it was given as a separate workshop or held in a more traditional classroom setting (as a part of a larger course) and whether or not it was mandatory. They concluded that the largest effect sizes were gained when the instruction was case-based, given as a separate workshop and non-mandatory. They found the overall effectiveness of the ethics instructional programs to be moderate (larger than small but smaller than medium).41

Waples et al.

Twenty-five individual studies about business ethics instruction (drawn from approximately 200) were included in an analysis by Waples et al. (2009). Regarding the general approach to instruction, they roughly classified the programs into three categories, based on which skills they set out to train: cognitive (i.e., moral reasoning), social (i.e., ethical awareness) and social-cognitive (i.e., ethical decision-making). The authors concluded that the largest effect sizes were gained when the general approach was cognitive; that is, when it focused on cognitive strategies for moral reasoning, including potential problems encountered when dealing with ethical issues.

Regarding other factors, the authors to a large extent arrived at the same conclusions as Antes et al.: an effective ethics instruction should be case-based, given as a separate workshop and non-mandatory. Moreover, they concluded that shorter courses produced larger effect sizes than longer courses (1–4 months or more). They found the overall effectiveness of the ethics instructional programs to be minimal.42

The problem-solving approach: An example

As we see above, the two analyses point in the same direction regarding how ethics instruction should be designed in order to generate significant effects,

41 Antes et al. (2009), p. 389.
42 Waples et al. (2009), p. 139.
even though none of them tell us how long these effects can be expected to last. The time between instruction and post-test, or final assessment, is a factor that has not been taken into account. Also, it is not entirely clear that the respective authors would define the terms, or make the most important distinctions (for example, between a social and a cognitive approach), in exactly the same way. However, a study by Gawthrop & Uhlemann (which was included in Antes et al.) can serve as an example of the cognitive or problem-solving approach to instruction which, according to the authors, should be the most effective.

In Canada, 59 undergraduate students in counseling, social work and child and youth care were involved in an experiment (1992), aiming to find out if a workshop in ethical decision-making would improve the quality of their answers to an ethical problem, presented to them as a case vignette:

A licensed school counselor saw a growing need among her clients [students and their parents] for family therapy sessions. On the one hand, she was aware that many of her clients did not have the financial resources to afford this, but on the other hand, her supervisor forbade her from deviating from her job description which did not include doing family work. What would you do if you were the school counselor and why?43

The participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups. The treatment group received a three-hour workshop, including an introduction in a specifically worked out code of ethics, as a part of a specifically worked out decision-making model, followed by a discussion. After that, they were asked to respond to the case vignette and develop their rationale (with the help of handouts from the introduction).

The informed control group began by working on the case vignette with help from the same code of ethics and the same decision-making model. They were given brief instructions about how to use them while organizing their thoughts. After answering the vignette, they had the same workshop as the treatment group. The uninformed control group began by working on the case vignette unaided by the code and the model but were given brief instructions to indicate in writing what they would do if they were the counselor

and why. After completing the task, they were given the same workshop as the other two groups.

The answers to the vignette were quantified by the Tymchuk Rating Scale, assigning every participant a degree of ability to make a well-informed decision.

- 1 p = not being able to make a decision or show a preference,
- 2 p = being able to make a decision, but not one that would be based on a logical rationale or consideration of the outcomes,
- 3 p = being able to make a decision based on a risk-benefit analysis, and a consideration of some of the potential outcomes,
- 4 p = being able to make a decision based on a risk-benefit analysis and consideration of the most potential outcomes.\(^44\)

As expected, the treatment group scored significantly higher on the scale than both the informed and the uninformed control group, whereas there was no significant difference between the two control groups. This, according to the authors, suggested that the problem-solving approach to ethics teaching was effective in fostering quality in ethical decision-making and that simply presenting written instructions was not sufficient for this purpose. However, they admitted that since the results of the study only described immediate effects of the learning experience, its long-term effects remain unknown.\(^45\)

Comments

There are some general conclusions that can be drawn from previous pedagogic-didactic research. One of them is that most impact studies to date concern ethics teaching at university level. Another is that the effects they show are relatively small. A third is that the effects appear to be larger when the approach is cognitive and focused on strategies for ethical reasoning/problem-solving, especially if the instruction is also case-based, non-mandatory and given as a separate workshop. In Chapter 2, we take a closer look at psychological research, which will shed further light on what happens when the

\(^{44}\) Ibid.

\(^{45}\) Ibid.
basis for a study is a cognitive developmental theory and how an intervention by a teacher can make a difference in the long term.

Clarification of the concepts

How the two most important concepts, ethical awareness and ethics teaching respectively, are used in this study has already been clarified. But there are some other concepts that should be clarified as well: ethics (in relationship to etiquette) ethical problems (in relationship to ethical dilemmas) and autonomy (in relationship to heteronomy). This is done below.

Ethics

In this study, the concepts of ethics and morals will (in most cases) be used interchangeably, referring to beliefs, opinions and rules about what is right or wrong, as opposed to etiquette, which refers to beliefs, opinions and rules about what is appropriate. There is an overlap between the two but only partially. Walking around town just wearing underpants would be a breach of etiquette but in most cases is not an immoral act (though this can vary in different cultures). Nor is it immoral to pick one’s nose in public or to burp loudly after dinner, even though it will often be seen as inappropriate. But even something that is generally not viewed as immoral can, of course, lead to morally problematic consequences – such as when a sensitive person gets hurt by someone who does not behave correctly (for example, by not saying “thank you”). An absolute separation of the concepts is thus not possible.

46 But they are, of course, not entirely interchangeable. One could say that morals is to ethics what right and legislation is to jurisprudence; hence, it is relevant to talk about a moral act but an ethical theory. Etymologically, however, they go back to two words (moralis and ethos) both meaning costume. (Collste, 1996, p. 13.)

47 A psychologist who has very ambitiously studied cultural differences in moral views is Haidt (2012, p. 111 f.), who would probably say that this study is based on a WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic) view of morality, as it presupposes that (lack of) harm and (lack of) fairness are more ethically relevant features in an act than, for example, (lack of) purity and (lack of) respect for religious traditions.
Ethical problems

There is no generally accepted and conclusive definition of an ethical problem (as it would be difficult to make one covering all kinds of ethical problems). In this study, however, it is used in the following sense (and this is my personal definition): a perceived difficulty or a question regarding what is right or wrong for (at least) one party to do in relationship to (at least) one other (which could be quite abstract, such as society). This implies that the first has some kind of duty and the second has some kind of right (these are either given by nature or not). In other words, morality will be treated as a matter of right or wrong (which implies a justice-oriented perspective) rather than good or bad (which implies a prosocial perspective).

With this definition, ethical problems represent a wider category than ethical dilemmas, which, according to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, “at the very least involve conflicts between moral requirements.” An ethical dilemma is always an ethical problem, but the opposite relationship does not hold true. Whether it is morally acceptable for me not to give money to a crippled beggar (simply because I feel tired or stressed) is indeed an ethical problem. But it is not an ethical dilemma unless, for example, I need every penny I have to feed my own family. As I see it, ethical problems that do not directly pose a dilemma are far more common in everyday life than ethical problems that do pose a dilemma.

Autonomy

A concept used many times in this study is autonomy, which in ordinary usage just denotes being self-determined as opposed to being determined from without. In Kant’s terminology, an autonomous person is someone who is rational enough to let universal principles (such as “you should not lie”) govern his/her behavior, independently of desires, authorities and traditions. The

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48 The difference between these perspectives is described in Carlo (2014), p. 212.

opposite is a *heteronomous* person, who lets desires, authorities and traditions decide for him/her.\(^{50}\)

In this study, the concept of autonomy is used in a more specific, psychological sense, referring to (A) the cognitive ability to understand the purpose of moral (and other) rules, entailing the ability to *make them one’s own* and modify them according to the situation and (B) the propensity to use this ability. This definition is based on (an interpretation of) the theory of Piaget, who did not acknowledge universal moral principles (like Kant) but recognized the necessity of a rational, independent and responsible way of relating to the world and its rules in order for proper adaptation to take place. In his theory, autonomy was the goal of moral development.\(^{51}\)

So, drawing on Piaget, one can distinguish between an autonomous and a heteronomous way of solving a moral problem; what it all comes down to is if one uses the ability for rational, independent thinking when one encounters the problem or if one does not (which is a matter of degree). In any case, the precondition for solving a moral problem (deliberately) is that it is recognized, either by oneself or someone else. To *recognize* a moral problem is to admit that there is a (perceived) difficulty regarding what is the right thing to do (in a specific situation); either that one does not know what it is or that it is not being done. But this is only possible if one has already recognized that there are at least two alternative ways of action.

However, the alternatives are almost always more than two, depending on how long one is willing to go in the search for them. And when the intention is to recognize as many alternatives as possible before a choice is made (because one really wants to know what is right), then the problem-solving is of a kind that, in this study, will be referred to as autonomous. When, on the other hand, the intention is rather to find the simplest way to a solution, without any further examination of the alternatives (because one already “knows” what is right), then the problem-solving is of a kind that is referred


\(^{51}\) Piaget (1932), p. 57.
to as heteronomous. To *solve* an ethical problem is in this study used synonymously with making an ethical decision, based on some kind of idea of what is right or wrong.

### The use of normative theories

But whichever decision-making process has been used, one can still discuss whether the decision is right from the perspective of a normative theory. In more traditional approaches to ethics teaching, this question is very important (see Chapter 3). Utilitarian and Kantian ethicists have their opinions of what the criterions of right and wrong should be (see Chapter 4), and there are others as well, all of which can be used to give moral intuitions some philosophical guidance, objection or support. This can be especially helpful when one is not sure that one has arrived at the right decision, even from a subjective point of view (and thus needs some external guidance). I will, though, remain neutral as to which normative theory is the most suitable for this purpose – morality will be studied from a psychological, not primarily a philosophical, point of view. In other words: the process by which we *arrive* at a moral decision is more interesting than whether or not the decision is “right.”

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52 The definitions of the two strategies for solving a moral problem are interpretations drawn from Kavathatzopoulos (2012), p. 392. See also Kavathatzopoulos, “Etisk kompetens för beslutsfattare och organisationer” (2011-03-23). URL = <http://www.it.uu.se/research/project/ethcomp/Program>
2. Promoting moral development

Introduction

Moral development and education

As a result of interaction with parents and peers, as well as cognitive maturation with the evolving theory of mind (the ability to recognize and attribute mental states) as an important aspect, children’s sense of right and wrong develops until adulthood, most markedly during the years from infancy to adolescence. Moral judgments were long assumed to be at the core of children’s morality (which was shown not the least in the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg), but during the latest decades, the researchers’ focus have shifted towards the study of moral emotions, which are at least as important, as they help children anticipate the outcomes of socio-moral events and adjust their behavior accordingly.

Before the age of about seven, however, it is difficult for them to anticipate emotions of shame or guilt in the context of moral wrongdoing; they typically expect an individual to experience positive emotions when transgressing a moral rule (happiness for having achieved a desired object). But as they become older and more experienced, they begin to anticipate more negative or

mixed emotions when doing this. As a result, the disposition for more prosocial, responsible behavior increases until adulthood (and beyond), even though it tends to level out during adolescence, sometimes with a little “dip” during the most turbulent years of puberty.

What, if anything, could education do to improve this development? What would such a classroom intervention look like if it was to affect as many as possible, as much as possible and for as long as possible? Indeed, there are cognitive behavioral ways of treating anti-social youths; for example, the EQUIP-program, developed by Gibbs (2010). It was designed in 31 sessions and has proved successful in providing young people with skills for (A) more mature moral judgment, (B) managing anger and correcting thinking errors and (C) a more constructive and balanced behavior towards others. Programs like EQUIP can, no doubt, be used as sources of inspiration in the development of more effective ways of teaching ethics in formal education. However, for their content and methods to be useful for this end, these programs have to be translated to a context in which most of the students are already socially well-functioning, where the teacher is not a professional psychologist and where the time for intervention is often considerably shorter (because there is already an existing curriculum it has to adhere to). This implies that a realistic goal of this “treatment” cannot really be to change the students but rather to develop some of their cognitive skills – which in itself can lead to changes. And, as we shall see, this kind of development (however slight) has been the most successful outcome hitherto when moral psychologists have made interventions in regular education.

The purpose of this chapter

When the Three Step Model for ethics teaching was developed, it was most directly influenced by a series of Swedish studies by Kavathatzopoulos, indicating that people’s degree of moral autonomy could be increased by means

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of just some instruction and training. These studies, in turn, were influenced by the psychological groundwork of Piaget and Kohlberg; in other words, the cognitive developmental tradition (and the discussion that has followed in their footsteps). In this chapter, these sources of influence are closely examined. The purpose is to give a background to the Three Step Model, by accounting for and discussing the research that has led up to it. Hopefully, this will make it understandable why it was developed the way it was and why testing it was considered relevant in this study.

Piaget: Paving the way for autonomy

On promoting development

According to Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (1896–1980), we have limited possibilities to make a child take the next step in its moral development at an earlier stage than it would have done without our help. As development is basically a spontaneous process, we cannot “teach” a higher form of morality to the child than it is ready to discover by itself, but we can enhance the conditions for the child’s development; for example by talking to the child as an equal collaborator instead of as an authority.59 Thereby, we may encourage its sense of equality and reciprocity, which is an important aspect of the autonomous morality.

The underlying theory

Based on numerous interviews with children at different ages regarding how they understood the rules of the games they played, or how they would respond to various moral problems, Piaget claimed that our views of right and wrong develop along a dimension from heteronomous to autonomous morality. Leaving the pre-moral phase at about five, we start to become aware of the moral (and other) rules that govern our interaction with others; however,

during this *heteronomous* phase of development, we follow them only insofar as we fear the consequences of breaking them. Assuming that they come from God or superior adults, we view them as absolute and impossible to modify: they really exist, not just as constructs in the mind.\textsuperscript{60} Therefore, this is also referred to as the phase of moral *realism*.

However, at the age of about 10, a shift comes about in our understanding of the rules, according to Piaget. Then, we no longer see them as dictates from above but as results of social *agreements*, aiming to make it easier for us to cooperate.\textsuperscript{61} Hence, if we could agree on other rules, these might be adopted instead. And when we understand the relative and instrumental nature of the rules, such as “you should not lie,” we paradoxically become more prone to follow them, since we have the ability to make them our own and modify them (according to the situation).\textsuperscript{62} This is the phase where *autonomy* becomes a more predominate way in which we relate to moral rules.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Box 4:}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Age (approximately)} & \textbf{Morality} \\
\hline
0–5 & Pre-morality. \\
\hline
5–10 & Heteronomous: rules are still external to us. \\
\hline
10– & Autonomous: rules have become internal to us. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Since, during the heteronomous phase, we tend to believe that rules are literal truths about right or wrong, we also tend to judge actions morally according to how well they follow the rules, according to Piaget. A lie, for example, is considered “worse” if it deviates a lot from the truth than if it deviates a little, irrespective of the intentions behind it, and breaking 15 of someone else’s cups by mistake is considered “worse” than breaking one cup intentionally. During the autonomous phase, on the other hand, we tend to take the motive

\textsuperscript{60} Piaget (1932), p. 53.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid, p. 62.
of the agent more into account; now, a lie is considered “worse” if the intentions behind it are bad than if they are not, and breaking one cup intentionally is considered “worse” than breaking 15 by mistake.\textsuperscript{63}

Also, during the heteronomous phase, we tend to believe that violating a rule is wrong because it may result in punishment, whereas during the autonomous phase we tend to believe it is wrong because it means that a social agreement has not been followed, trust has been betrayed, etc.\textsuperscript{64} In other words, during the heteronomous phase it seems that we need the threat of punishment in order to follow the rules, much more so than during the autonomous phase.

The development of autonomous morality is a function of the adaption process during which the basically egocentric child learns how to understand and interact with the environment by restructuring the cognitive “map” of reality until it works sufficiently. This is a stage-wise development in which the child becomes able to think more and more like a natural scientist. Without the increasing capacity for abstract thinking and perspective-taking, autonomous morality would not have come about, since it implies a more advanced way of understanding the world. Piaget, in other words, viewed the cognitive and the social development as closely linked together.\textsuperscript{65}

But the driving force behind the development was discovery, not teaching from without. This assumption by Piaget had important implications. If we try to impose a more advanced form of morality on the child (for example, by saying: help others so that they will help you) before it is ready to discover it by itself, this would only lead to the acceptance of something it has not completely understood (which is an act of heteronomy).\textsuperscript{66} Moral action comes from moral reasoning, but only when the reasoning has become a natural part of how the child relates to the world.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid, p. 122.

\textsuperscript{64} Bergling (1990), p. 18f.; Piaget (1932), p. 168.

\textsuperscript{65} Crain (1992), p. 103; Piaget (1932), p. 37.

\textsuperscript{66} Snarey & Samuelson (2008), p. 56; Piaget (1932), p. 263 f.
Evaluation

Modern psychological research has confirmed Piaget’s claim that moral judgment and behavior tend to be unrelated in young children (as their behavior is impulsive and not guided by rational thought) but more related in older children and adults.67 Preschoolers, in contrast to older children, tend to evaluate lies that lead to punishment more negatively than lies that do not. In a study where children were asked, “What happens when lies are told?” 80% of the five-year-olds but only 28% of the 11-year-olds mentioned punishment by an adult,68 which was in line with what Piaget would have expected.

And already in 1965, psychologist Epstein confirmed in a study that small children’s conceptions of rules appear to develop in a way similar to what Piaget suggested. In a first step, they cannot understand the difference between changing a rule and breaking it, which they are able to do in the second step. In a third step, they understand that rules can be changed by equals, but they still believe that rules decided by adults are unchangeable. In a fourth step, they understand the difference between changes that are “right” or “wrong” from a moral point of view, and in a fifth step they understand that rules can always be changed on the basis of a majority decision. This means that the parents are no longer seen as sovereign legislators.69

However, according to Epstein, this development unfolds between the ages of four and seven, which is earlier than Piaget theorized. In other words, his study indicated that Piaget may have underestimated the cognitive abilities of small children.70 This shortcoming has also been pointed out by other researchers, especially those studying other aspects of development; for example, the evolving ability to understand the principle of number conservation (that a number of objects, such as plastic chips, remain the same even when

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70 This could be a reason why Piaget, later in life, described the transition from heteronomy to autonomy as something that took place a bit earlier than he had previously thought, perhaps as early as at the age of seven or eight. (Piaget & Inhelder 1966, p. 122 f.)
the row has been spread out). According to Piaget, children cannot cognitively grasp this before the age of about seven; according to later researches they can, if they get the right pedagogical support.\(^{71}\)

It has also been questioned if Piaget was actually right in his assumption that children’s development was a “spontaneous” process, where the job of the parent or the teacher was to make it go more smoothly rather than to force it. Indeed, studies have shown that active intervention (such as training in problem-solving strategies) can accelerate cognitive development.\(^{72}\) It seems, in other words, that Piaget underestimated the power of instruction (which, of course, depends on how strictly the notion of “spontaneous” development should be interpreted). And, as we shall see, this might also have been true in the area of morality, where some of his followers have shown that cognitive development is possible to accelerate (to some degree) by means of an intervention by a teacher.

Kohlberg: Exposure to the next moral stage

On promoting development

According to American psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg (1927–1987), it is possible to make a child (or an adolescent or an adult) take the next step in its moral development (i.e., to restructure its current mode of moral reasoning) earlier than it would have done without our help. This could be done by discussing dilemmas with the subject, locate its current stage of development and expose it to moral reasoning at one stage above (\(+1\)). Thereby, a cognitive conflict will be created in the subject, which will draw it towards a more universal, non-egocentric, way of understanding right and wrong.\(^{73}\)


\(^{72}\) Ibid, p 257.

The underlying theory

Inspired by Piaget, Kohlberg elaborated a theory of moral development that extended well beyond the transition from “heteronomous” to “autonomous” morality (which was natural as he mainly interviewed older subjects compared to Piaget). Fundamentally, he agreed with Piaget that moral development was about leaving behind a purely egocentric perspective and integrating several perspectives in the reasoning about moral issues. Also, he agreed that this development was a matter of phases, or in Kohlberg’s terminology, stages. But whereas Piaget studied moral development as an aspect of a general adaption process during which the individual became more adjusted to the environment, Kohlberg studied it as a separate process, during which the individual’s moral reasoning became more insightful and all-encompassing, gradually discovering the universal principle of justice (what is actually right and wrong).74

According to Kohlberg, this development proceeds in an invariant, universal sequence of six (or at least five) distinctive stages that are age-related but not age-dependent, where every higher stage provides a framework in which the lower stages become incorporated.75 The higher the stage, the more advanced the structure of the moral reasoning used when a moral problem is to be solved. And at each stage, there is a correspondence between moral reasoning and behavior, but the inclination to actually do what one claims to be right becomes stronger at the higher stages, Kohlberg believed.76

The first two stages he defined as belonging to the pre-conventional level, where morality is individualistic and based on the desire to avoid punishment and gain rewards. Stage 3 and 4 he defined as belonging to the conventional level, where morality is more societal, based on the desire to solicit others’ approval and maintain good relations with them. Stage 5 and 6 he defined as


75 Crain characterizes this the following way: “Stage 4 […] transcends the limitations of stage 3 and becomes more broadly concerned with social organization. Stage 5, in turn, sees the weakness of stage 4; a well-organized society is not necessary a moral one. Stage 5 therefore considers the rights and orderly processes that make for a moral society.” (Crain 1992, p. 146).

belonging to the *post-conventional* or *principled* level, where morality is more universal, based on the desire to follow the principles one has found to be right “prior” to society.\(^77\)

**Box 5:**
Interpretation of Kohlberg’s moral stages and their descriptions.\(^78\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Obedience and punishment orientation</td>
<td>To avoid punishment, the child defers to prestigious or powerful people, usually the parents. The morality of an act is defined by its physical consequences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Naïve hedonistic and instrumental orientation</td>
<td>The child conforms to gain rewards. The child understands reciprocity and sharing, but this reciprocity is manipulative and self-serving.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Good boy/girl morality</td>
<td>The child’s good behavior is designed to maintain approval and good relations with others. Although the child is still basing judgments of right and wrong on other people’s responses, s/he is primarily concerned with their approval and disapproval. It is to maintain goodwill that s/he confirms to the standards of family and friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Authority and morality that maintain the social order</td>
<td>The person blindly accepts social conventions and rules and believes that if society accepts these rules, they should be maintained in order to avoid censure. S/he now conforms not just to other individuals’ standards but to the social order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Morality of contract, individual rights and democratically accepted law</td>
<td>Morality is based on an agreement among individuals to conform to norms that appear necessary to maintain the social order and the rights of others. However, since this is a social contract, it can be modified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Morality of individual principles and conscience</td>
<td>People conform both to social standards and to internalized ideas. Their intent is to avoid self-condemnation rather than criticism by others. People base their decisions on abstract principles involving justice, compassion and equality.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kohlberg’s original study**

The most important basis for Kohlberg’s theory, which he modified several times, was a 20-year longitudinal study (starting in the 1950s), where he interviewed a cohort of originally 72 boys aged 10–16 regarding how they


would respond to nine hypothetical dilemmas; he followed up these inter-
views every three or four years to see which changes may have occurred. The
most famous dilemma is the one about Heinz and the pharmacist:

Heinz needs a particular expensive drug to help his dying wife. The
pharmacist who discovered and controls the supply of the drug has
refused Heinz’ offer to give him all the money he now has, which
would be about half the necessary sum, and to pay the rest later. Heinz
must now decide whether or not to steal the drug to save his wife; that
is, whether to obey the rules and laws of society or to violate them to
respond to the needs of his wife. What should Heinz do, and why?79

On the basis on how every boy, at every test occasion, weighted societal
against purely individual considerations in response to the dilemmas, Kohl-
berg made an estimation (by using an advanced scoring system) of the most
dominant stage of moral reasoning at every age.

From the beginning, his intention was to make a study about how adoles-
cents develop their autonomous morality during the age of 10 to 16. How-
ever, when the findings came in, he considered a six-stage developmental ty-
pology to be more useful in describing the observed differences in moral rea-
soning compared to Piaget’s heteronomy-autonomy distinction (which
Kohlberg never abandoned entirely).80

Among the interviewed boys defined as coming from higher socioeconomic
classes, the most dominant stage of moral reasoning at the age of 10 was stage
2, Kohlberg and his colleagues found. At the age of 16, it was stage 3; at the
age of 26, it was stage 4 and at the age of 36, it was still stage 4. Among the
boys who came from lower socioeconomic classes, the most dominant stage
of moral reasoning at the age of 10 was 2; at the age of 16, it was stage 3; at the
age of 26, it was still stage 3 and at the age of 36, it was stage 4.

So, even though it took a little longer for the boys from the lower socioeco-
onomic classes to get there, the tendency was that during adulthood, the
moral reasoning developed to stage 4. Reasoning at stage 5, on the other

hand, never became particularly prevalent, stage 1 declined rather quickly and stage 6 did not exist more than as a “theoretical” stage.\textsuperscript{81} The study suggested, in other words, that conventional morality (stage 3–4) was the most common endpoint of moral development. Other studies by Kohlberg and his colleagues, some of them also involving females (he was criticized because he did not involve them in this study), have suggested the same.\textsuperscript{82}

The Blatt effect

During the early 1970s, Moshe Blatt, one of Kohlberg’s doctoral students, hypothesized that if children were systematically exposed to moral reasoning one step above their own, a cognitive conflict would arise in them and their moral reasoning would develop quicker towards the next stage. With Kohlberg’s agreement, he thus ran a pilot study for 12 weeks in a Jewish Sunday school where he, once a week, discussed hypothetical moral dilemmas with sixth-grade students (aged 11–12). The students were asked to propose solutions to the dilemmas and explain \textit{why} they believed that their personally chosen solution to be the best. By following up their answers and sometimes asking them further questions (i.e., exposing them to the Socratic method), the experimenter thereby helped the students develop better (i.e., more societal or universal) arguments for their standpoints.

Using Kohlberg’s interview as an assessment tool, Blatt & Kohlberg could show that more than half of the students (63\%) in the experimental group moved up one full stage from pre- to post-test. In the follow-up test one year later, there was no significant decline; the change appeared to be persistent. The students in the control groups, on the other hand, did not show any significant development, neither from pre- to post-test, nor from post- to follow-up test.

These results encouraged Blatt & Kohlberg to try out the dilemma discussions in a larger classroom study, to see if they could be replicated. For this purpose, 132 students were chosen from four schools in Chicago. About half of them were in the sixth grade (aged 11–12) and the others were in the tenth

\textsuperscript{81} Colby & Kohlberg (1983), p. 53.

grade (aged 15–16). In each of the age groups, the students were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. The first was an experimental condition where the students were exposed to teacher-led dilemma discussions (like in the pilot). The second was a semi-experimental condition where the students were exposed to dilemma discussions without any active leadership from a teacher. The third was a control condition where the students were not exposed to any such dilemma discussions.

And, just as in the pilot, they could show that there was an upward change in the experimental conditions (especially in the teacher-led condition), significantly higher than the control condition, which was still evident one year later. However, the change was smaller this time. Only 19% of the students exposed to teacher-led dilemma discussions moved up one full stage; the average development among them was about one third of a stage (with no significant difference between the age groups).83

### Box 6:
Interpretation of the results from Blatt & Kohlberg (1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot (originally 63 students)</td>
<td>63% in teacher-led discussion group moved up one full stage, control groups did not move up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study (originally 132 students)</td>
<td>19% in teacher-led discussion group moved up one full stage, control groups moved up less.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was another, and not so encouraging, aspect of this study that should be mentioned as well. Inspired by previous research indicating that the propensity for cheating on a test was the greatest for students at the pre-conventional level and smallest for those at the post-conventional level, Blatt decided to test his students’ honesty the same way.84 He thus gave them a paper and pencil “coordination” test, which was really a psychological test of their propensity to cheat when they had the chance, before and after the dilemma discussions were held. The result, contrary to what could have been expected, was that across all three conditions, the number of students who cheated increased from pre- to post-test: 47 to 61 percent. And even more striking, the largest increase was in the experimental group!

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84 Ibid, p. 130.
Blatt & Kohlberg’s comment on this finding was that the act of cheating was very much determined by the situation and that the relationship of moral judgment to cheating behavior was most apparent at the post-conventional (principled) level, where the individual tended to be consistently honest. But “since only one child was scored as moving to the principled level through the experiment, it could not be expected that experimental increase in principled thinking would affect behavior.”\textsuperscript{85}

The Just Community approach

Looking for a way to educate children and teenagers in a way that did not just address their moral reasoning but also their real-life behavior, Kohlberg considered the possibility to use democratic school forms as a means to promote their moral development. As moral development, in his theory, was very much a question of discovering the need for a society contract and democracy, he found these school forms suitable for his purpose.

During a visit to Israel, he became inspired by a high school program in a kibbutz (an agricultural, miniature society based on collective ownership and the same salary for everyone), whose aim was to educate teenagers from lower classes so that they could later become members of the kibbutz. What Kohlberg wanted to find out was if the very group-oriented spirit of this program had any significant impact on the moral development of the teenagers. He thus made a study where he compared the kibbutz students with students at other schools – and came to an affirmative answer.\textsuperscript{86} He thereby became interested in transferring the ideas of the program to an American context and “combine the principles for moral discussion with some of the psychological principles for collective education.”\textsuperscript{87}

This was the origin of the Just Community approach, which was first implemented at the Cluster school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when it started in 1974. A part of a larger high school, whose rules it still had to

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{85} Blatt & Kohlberg (1975), p. 149.
\textsuperscript{86} Power, Higgins & Kohlberg (1989), p. 39
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid, p. 44.
\end{flushleft}
basically acknowledge, Cluster was a direct democracy, aiming to train the students in balancing their self-interest with the interests of society and its institutions. A majority of the students were disadvantaged or street youth, about half of them were black. Before attending the school, all of them had to sign a contract regarding everyone’s rights and duties.

The two corner stones at the school were the dilemma discussions and the community meeting. The dilemma discussions were held in every classroom whenever there was a need for it. Their purpose was to make the students discover the moral problems in everyday situations – they were asked to keep a journal of these – and to better understand themselves as individuals in relation to the world. The dilemmas discussed were basically real-life dilemmas, not hypothetical. The role of the teacher, just as in the Blatt studies, was to use the Socratic Method by exposing them to arguments and questions slightly above their current stage of reasoning.

Sometimes, during the discussions, questions came up that had to be further debated at the community meeting. This was held every week, aiming to give all students and staff a say in questions (prepared by the agenda committee) regarding the moral (and other) rules of the school. Everyone at the meeting had a vote and when something was decided upon, everyone had to follow it, including the administrative staff and the principal. This way, all the students got hands-on experiences of what it was like to be a part of a democratic society, where the perhaps most important lesson was how to compromise.

So, how effective was the Just Community approach in terms of ability to develop morality? To find out, Kohlberg and his colleges made a study where

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90 Ibid, p. 80. Vozzola (2009, p. 105) gives an example of this: one can ask a student who believes that he ought to hit someone who hits him (Kohlberg’s stage 2) how he would have wanted the others to act if he was the one to start the fight.

91 On one occasion, there had been a theft of 90 dollars from a student’s purse. The solution voted on was that everyone would have to give 15 cents to the victim if the money was not returned (anonymously) by a certain date. The result was that the person who took the money confessed and gave it back. After that, there were no reports of theft at the school for three years (Kohlberg 1986, p. 87).
they compared the moral reasoning of students attending different kinds of schools. They concluded that after one year, the students at Cluster and Scarsdale A-School (which also had a Just Community approach) scored significantly higher in the interview tests than did students at two other schools, which did not have such a direct orientation towards democracy and student participation.\footnote{Power, Higgins & Kohlberg (1989), p. 268.}

Also, they made a longitudinal study with 30 subjects at Cluster, where they found that during a time-span of two (in some cases three) years, the students had developed, on average, half a stage, normally from somewhere at stage 2 to somewhere at stage 3.\footnote{Ibid, p. 280.} It appeared, in other words, that the approach had an effect on their moral development, but no greater effect than the traditional dilemma discussions conducted by Blatt.

Whether the approach had an effect on their behavior as well is unknown, but Vozzola (2009) made a qualitative inquiry among 150 former students at Scarsdale, two to twenty-five years after graduation. A very large number of them reported they had become better and more engaged citizens through participating in a direct democracy, better listeners through listening to multiple perspectives and better thinkers through the value-infused curriculum. So, even though it takes a lot of effort and devoted staff to make it possible, according to Vozzola, the Just Community approach is “perhaps the best and strongest intervention for promoting social-emotional and moral development.”\footnote{Vozzola (2009), p. 120.}

### The later Kohlberg: Back to Piaget

Already in the design of the Just Communities, there was a tendency to once again approach Piaget, as the students learned how to formulate the moral rules themselves and thereby enhance their sense of autonomy. This tendency became even stronger during the last ten years of Kohlberg’s life. A reason for this was his awareness of the difficulty to predict how someone would behave solely on the basis of his/her moral stage (the Blatt study is a good example...
of this). The fact that someone, in an interview, would justify a solution to a moral dilemma with societal arguments was not a reliable predictor of whether his/her behavior, in reality, would be governed by societal concerns. There was, however, another and more qualitative way in which the moral judgment interviews could be analyzed, having more to do with whether the solutions were justified by reasons having to do with (A) rules and pragmatics or (B) fairness and responsibility (to simplify the categories a bit). According to Kohlberg, the number of B-type answers – which was close to what Piaget would have classified as autonomous – tended to increase at the higher stages and were a better predictor of whether a person would really do what s/he claimed to be right and just compared to his/her predominant moral stage.95

**Box 7:** Interpretation of different stage and type answers to the Heinz dilemma, exemplified in Reimer et al. (coauthored with Kohlberg).96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Type A: reasons having to do with rules and pragmatics</th>
<th>Type B: reasons having to do with fairness and responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 (pre-conventional level)</td>
<td>“He should not steal because he is likely to get caught.”</td>
<td>“He should steal because if the judge/pharmacist were in his place, he would do the same thing.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (conventional level)</td>
<td>“He should not steal because it is against the law.”</td>
<td>“He should steal because anyone in his situation would feel responsible for his wife and follow his feelings rather than the law.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason why he believed this to be the case was that in two reanalyzed studies from the 1960s, he and his colleges had compared the moral reasoning of subjects who had shown civil disobedience (in situations where the most normal behavior was to follow an authority) with the moral reasoning of subjects who had not. One of the studies was made on the students who choose to sit in, and thus become arrested, during an illegal occupation of an administrative building at the time of the Berkeley free speech movement.


129 of them were given a written form of the moral judgment interview to fill out, as were 210 students chosen at random on the Berkeley campus.\textsuperscript{97}

The other study was made on the participants in the famous Milgram obedience experiment, where 40 naïve subjects were recruited to give “electric shocks” to innocent victims under the guise of studying the effects of punishment on memory. Fourteen of them refused to continue the experiment once they felt that the “victim” was being hurt, while the other 26 continued all the way, following the orders of the leader. In both of these studies, there was a clear correlation between giving B-type answers in the interview and showing civil disobedience (which is a typical behavior for the post-conventional level). In the Milgram study, none of the subjects who were classified as moral type A quit the experiment until the leader told them to.\textsuperscript{98}

So, in other words, there was an indication of a more genuine “moral sense” in the subjects who were classified as B-types. This was confirmed in a study by Gibbs, who tested adolescents for a number of psychological propensities and found a strong correlation between B-types of answers and \textit{field independence}; that is, the ability to discern a core injustice in a situation despite distorting or distracting influences from the social context or “field” of a social group.\textsuperscript{99} Put differently, there was an association between giving the most autonomous answers (to use the Piagetian term) and showing the highest degree of ethical awareness.

Despite these discoveries, however, Kohlberg never changed his theory in any fundamental sense – it was, and is, a theory about the stage-wise discovery of universal principles. Even though a number of complementary assessment tools, such as the Defining Issues Test, have been developed to better capture the differences in moral judgment and thereby (to a large extent) replace the traditional interview, the six (or at least five) stage scale from pre- to post-conventional reasoning has remained the most important measure of moral development, at least for researchers in Kohlberg’s tradition.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{97} Colby & Kohlberg (1987), p. 374.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, p. 375.


\textsuperscript{100} DIT = the Defining Issues Test. It basically follows Kohlberg’s scale but as opposed to Kohlberg’s interview, the DIT has a multiple choice character. It gives dilemmas and standard items regarding which factors should be considered when moral decisions are to be made.
Gilligan’s criticism

During the last years of his life, Kohlberg was criticized by (among others) his own research assistant Carol Gilligan, who argued that his theory was biased towards men as it was justice-oriented. According to an alternative theory proposed by Gilligan, female morality centers not on rights and rules but on interpersonal relationships and the ethics of compassion and care. The ideal is not impersonal justice but affiliative ways of living.\textsuperscript{101} This could explain the fact that, according to her, women typically scored at stage 3 (focusing on interpersonal feelings) whereas men more commonly scored at stage 4 (reflecting more abstract conceptions of social organization).\textsuperscript{102}

This criticism, however, has not received unambiguous support from later research. In a meta-analysis from 1984, Walker reviewed 108 studies in which the moral development of men and women were assessed and concluded that only eight of them showed a significant difference favoring males, which to a great extent contradicted what Gilligan wanted to explain.\textsuperscript{103} It could also be that she exaggerated the difference between the characters of male and female morality. In a meta-analysis from 2000, Jafee & Hide came to the conclusion that only 27\% out of 160 studies about gender and moral reasoning showed a clear indication that women had a more care-oriented conception of morality than men.\textsuperscript{104}

\begin{quote}
The subject’s task is to rate and rank the items in terms of their moral importance. It exists in a shorter form, DIT 1, and a longer form, DIT 2 (ethicaldevelopment.ua.edu).
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[101] Gilligan (1984), 64 f.
\item[104] Jafee & Hyde (2000), p. 712. It has been argued, though, that this could be due to the fact that most studies have used test instruments derived from Kohlberg’s theory, which were not sufficiently sensitive to capture care-oriented reasoning (Björklund 2003, p. 459.)
\end{footnotes}
Corroboration of Kohlberg’s theory

Regarding the internal validity of Kohlberg’s theory, the perhaps most interesting discovery was made in Germany in 2015 by Prehn et al. Using voxel-based morphometry, they investigated the brain structure of 67 business administration students, whose moral developmental level had previously been tested with the DIT. What they found was that the 38 subjects who had reached the post-conventional level of reasoning showed a significantly increased volume of grey matter in the bilateral ventromedial prefrontal cortex, compared to the 29 subjects who had not reached this level.105

This discovery was consistent with a number of previous functional neuroimaging studies, demonstrating that moral decision-making activates a neural network centered in the prefrontal cortex (PFC) and in particular in the ventromedial PFC. It thereby provided a piece of initial, promising evidence for brain structural alterations following Kohlberg’s proposed stages of moral reasoning.106 However, we need more research before we can tell whether these alterations also entail a corresponding change in moral behavior.107

Regarding the external validity of Kohlberg’s theory, hundreds of moral developmental studies have been carried out since the 1970s in order to find out if it is applicable worldwide. Overall, these studies have confirmed that individuals, regardless of their cultural background, develop through the sequence in the same manner. Even though the average developmental stage has not been the same in all countries, and even though not all studies have been able to show that there were subjects at the highest stages,108 the sequence as such appears to be universal.109

105 This becomes even more interesting when one considers that one of the neurological abnormalities associated with psychopathy is reduced grey matter in the frontal and temporal cortex (Decety & Howard, p. 459). If this is not a coincidence, exactly what is the role of grey matter for morality?

106 Prehn et al. (2015), p. 8f.

107 K. Prehn, personal communication (March 2018).


Also, the Blatt effect telling us that moral development à la Kohlberg can be accelerated by means of exposure to the next moral stage has been replicated in numerous classrooms. In 1985, Schafli et al. published a meta-analysis in which 129 moral development programs at all educational levels (all of them using the DIT as assessment tool) were compared regarding their potential for developing moral reasoning. These programs were classified as dilemma discussions, emphasizing peer discussion of controversial moral dilemmas; personality development, emphasizing psychological growth and intense self-reflection; academic courses, emphasizing the academic content in humanities, social studies and literature; and short term programs with any content, lasting three weeks or less.

The most effective program turned out to be the dilemma discussions, closely followed by the personality development programs, both of them showing a moderate effect. After them came the academic courses and the short-term programs, as these showed no effect at all (that academic courses, especially in the humanities, do not appear to develop morality is a sad but interesting discovery). So, there should be no doubt that the dilemma discussion method prescribed by Kohlberg and his colleges, at least in relative terms, is an effective way of developing moral reasoning.

The reasoning-behavior problem

But, as his follower James Rest (the psychologist behind the DIT) pointed out, the method may not be so effective if the purpose is to develop morality in a wider sense, so that behavior is influenced as well. According to him, moral reasoning, or judgment, is just one of four components that has to be taken into account when predicting someone’s behavior. The others are moral sensitivity (how the subject interprets the situation), moral motivation (whether the subject gives priority to moral values) and moral character (whether the subject has the inner strength to do what it considers right).

Drawing on Rest, one could say that a person has to (A) sense that a situation is morally problematic in order to make a moral judgment about it in the

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first place, but s/he also has to (B) have the right motivation and character to be able to act upon this judgment. So, in order for us to predict how someone will behave in a real-life situation, we need to know a lot more about the person than what a test of his/her moral reasoning level can ever tell us.

However, in a meta-analysis published in 2015 by Villegas de Posada & Vargas-Trujillo, it was shown that the possibility to predict behavior (directly) from reasoning may be greater in certain moral domains than in others. In this analysis, 151 studies from 1942 to 2013 were compared regarding the correlation they could show between the subjects’ level of moral reasoning and actual behavior (as reported by the subjects themselves, teachers, parents, peers or the researcher).

On a general level, the authors found a medium strong correlation between level of moral reasoning and behavior (which was a bit more than they expected). There was, however, a difference between studies that basically had to do with the kinds of behavior Kant referred to as imperfect duties and studies that had to do with what he referred to as perfect duties.

In the case of the imperfect duties, what one should do (such as helping other people or standing up for civil rights), there was a stronger correlation between reasoning and behavior than in the case of the perfect duties, what one should not do (such as cheating or using illegal drugs). It appears as if it is easier to act upon a judgment about something that should be done than about something that should not be done, perhaps for the reason that the former implies a greater freedom to make a choice (there are many ways of helping someone) than the latter (which just means that an alternative is absent).

The authors, however, concluded that as their analysis showed a close relationship between the level of reasoning and behavior (at least in some of the moral domains), it also supported the notion that deliberate attempts to develop moral reasoning by means of education may also be an effective way of improving students’ behavior. Therefore, these attempts should be encouraged.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{112} Villegas de Posada & Vargas-Trujillo (2015), p. 414 f.
Kavathatzopoulos: Developing autonomy

A neo-Piagetian approach

The aim of moral education à la Kohlberg is to make the students more societal or universalistic in their moral reasoning, to make them develop a broader base for their opinions about right and wrong than just narrow considerations for themselves and their closest groups. The hope is that this development will also influence how they make decisions in everyday life. However, as we have seen, there is probably no such direct link between reasoning and behavior, at least not in the case of the so-called perfect duties.

A researcher who is well aware of this is Swedish psychologist Iordanis Kavathatzopoulos, who has proposed a somewhat different approach to moral education. Instead of using Kohlberg’s scale as a measure of development, he has pioneered using a Piagetian scale, based on a special interpretation of his theory. In a number of studies, starting with his doctoral thesis about a successful attempt to promote the moral development of Greek children, he has shown that it is possible to make people more prone to solve problems autonomously by just giving them some instructions and training (in a way a bit similar to the decision-making workshop Gawthrop & Uhlemann gave to undergraduate students). One could say that he has helped them to make a more consistent, deliberate use of a problem-solving skill that most of them already had. Doing this, he has not only been influenced by Piaget’s heteronomy-autonomy distinction but also by Vygotsky’s claim that learning is best enhanced by instruction in the zone of proximal development.

The 1993 study

In a study from 1993 (which is reviewed as an illustrative example of his early methodology), this was demonstrated in a group of 31 university students

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from a psychology class, who were randomly allocated to either an experimental or a control group. Both of the groups had a pre-test in which all participants were assessed individually. Each one of them was told five short stories, all embedding an ethical problem such as the following:

You bought tickets for a very popular concert a long time ago, but the day of the concert you are prevented from going. Since you are saving money for a trip, you go to the theatre in order to return your tickets and get your money back. There are a lot of people there waiting for tickets, and one of them approaches you and asks if you have any tickets to sell. He offers to pay you three times the price.\textsuperscript{116}

The subjects were asked to place themselves in the position of the protagonist of the story, solve the problem and justify the solution in some way. They were scored as \textit{autonomous} when they based their solutions (in at least three of the five stories) on the concrete problem and its parameters, rather than on some abstract moral principle or authority. They were scored as \textit{heteronomous} when they did not base their solutions on the concrete situation, or when they placed the responsibility on something or someone other than the protagonist of the story.\textsuperscript{117} As I understand him, answers such as “I would tell him that he just had to pay the regular price, because otherwise I would feel quite badly afterwards” were classified as autonomous, whereas answers such as “I would tell him that he just had to pay the regular price because otherwise it would mean I was treating him dishonestly” were classified as heteronomous.

After the pre-test, the participants in the experimental group participated in a workshop where they were taught about the difference between heteronomous and autonomous problem-solving. They were also instructed how to solve the problems in the five stories autonomously. The participants in the control group received no such workshop.

In the post-test that was given to both groups one month later, they were asked to solve moral problems in five new stories. The result was as expected:

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid, p. 385.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid, p. 382.
in the experimental group, the number of autonomous subjects had increased from 4 to 14 (out of 16). In the control group, on the other hand, the number of autonomous subjects was constant at 2 (out of 15).\footnote{Ibid, p. 383.}

Why Piaget rather than Kohlberg?

As I understand Kavathatzopoulos, the most important reason why he has used Piaget’s developmental theory as a starting point for moral education rather than Kohlberg’s is the presumption that it will make the gap between the reasoning and the behavior of the participants easier to bridge (which, as we have seen, was a line of thinking that Kohlberg also embarked upon during his last years). This, in turn, has to do with the nature of the two theories:

What Kohlberg describes is a discovery process in which moral reasoning develops towards an ideal form, as the individual gradually internalizes the universal principle of justice. This development is supposed to be followed by changes in behavior, but this is less than certain. What Piaget describes, on the other hand, is an adaption process in which both moral reasoning and behavior develop to converge in the autonomous phase when the interaction with the world becomes governed by more rational considerations (and an ability to understand reciprocity). In his theory, there are no universal moral principles to discover – just more or less adaptive, and responsible, ways of interacting with the world.\footnote{Kavathatzopoulos (1991), p. 47 f.}

This implies that in moral education à la Piaget, one does not have to be all that concerned with the normative content of the solutions the participants arrive upon (whether they are motivated by concerns for society, etc.). Instead, one can focus on the process and help them to develop a skill for autonomous problem-solving, which is probably easier for them to transfer to new and unforeseen situations compared to a normative content.\footnote{Kavathatzopoulos (1993), p. 384.} Developing the skill for autonomy does not necessarily mean becoming a more...
altruistic person (who disregards his/her own interests), but rather becoming less prone to make hasty, blind or one-eyed decisions (which we easily do when strong emotions are involved). According to Kavathatzopoulos, ethical awareness (and the right moral attitude) may be a prerequisite for discovering a condition like a moral problem, but it does not imply the ability to solve it autonomously. To be able to do this (in a deliberate and consistent way), we normally need some instruction as well.

The heteronomy-autonomy distinction

Let us now take a closer look at how he defines the two different ways of solving a moral problem. The first is the one he refers to as heteronomous, meaning that the problem becomes “solved” without further consideration, just by adherence to habit, rule or authority:

Internal authorities, e.g. earlier moral experiences that one applies without making sure that they really fit the new situation, or external authorities that one follows uncritically. When one faces the ethical problem, one reacts by reflex, instinctively or with a gut feeling, so to say. The thinking is fixated on a single or just a few principles and one ignores other very relevant principles. The problem-solving or the decision-making is neither systematic nor controlled, and the action follows automatically without reflecting. One does not know all that much about how and why one has solved a moral problem in a certain way, and therefore one does not have access to convincing arguments for justifying one’s decisions. One also avoids one’s personal responsibility and instead places it on other people or various circumstances.


122 Kavathatzopoulos does not give any exhaustive definition of “ethical awareness” but as I understand him, he uses the concept in a way quite similar to how it is used in this study (Chapter 1).


124 Kavathatzopoulos,”Etisk kompetens för beslutsfattare och organisationer” (2011-03-23). URL = <http://www.it.uu.se/research/project/ethcomp/Program (My translation, my italics.)
As I understand him, heteronomy can express itself either in the way that one (A) does not admit that there is a problem at all, or that one (B) admits that there is a problem but only acknowledges one or perhaps two possible solutions to it. One is very prone to stick to the usual way of solving it because one wants to save time or effort. In most cases this works fine but sometimes there is a need to go deeper into the situation at hand and see what can be done about it. One has to ask a number of questions in order to make a well-informed decision. Thereby, one starts to solve the problem autonomously, which is more difficult and demanding but, at the same time, often more rewarding. Autonomy is

a continuous quest for understanding the whole picture and a struggle to control the situation. Hence, autonomy is a state of insecurity and anxiety, but these feelings are effectively mitigated by trust in the personal ability to handle difficult moral problems [...] Autonomy is like a matrix where all alternative solutions to the moral problem are systematically measured against all relevant values and interests. Having the overall picture created by critical and systematic thinking means that one will be able to control the solution, becomes aware of one’s responsibility and that one has the best foundation for argumentation and dialogue. Autonomy refers to the process, not the solution.\(^{125}\)

Even though the distinction between the two ways of solving a moral problem is derived from (a certain way of interpreting) Piaget’s theory, it does not need this foundation in order to be understood or applied. It has been used by a number of other researchers but under different labels.\(^{126}\) In modern, cognitive psychology, heteronomy corresponds to system 1 (i.e., the system for fast, intuitive and automatic thinking we normally use in everyday life). Autonomy, on the other hand, corresponds to system 2 (i.e., the system for

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\(^{125}\) Ibid.

\(^{126}\) Kavathatzopoulos makes a parallel to the Socratic dialogues in which aporia, the initial state of not knowing the answer (to an ethical problem), was a precondition for truly finding it. (2009, p. 6).
slow, rational and self-aware thinking, which we use when we need to reflect on something or make a deliberate choice).127

Using a camera analogy, Green (2013) refers to the two systems as the automatic settings and the manual mode, respectively. According to him, our brains have automatic settings that tell us how to proceed in almost all situations. These are “highly efficient, but not very flexible, and the reverse is true of the manual mode. Put them together, however, and you get the best of both worlds, provided that you know when to manually adjust your settings and when to point and shoot.”128 This captures well what Kavathatzopoulos refers to as ethical competence: the ability to know when (a higher degree of) autonomous thinking is demanded; in other words, when one has to consider a problem more carefully than one usually does.129

His later research

In his later research, Kavathatzopoulos has developed a more advanced assessment tool for ethical competence, ECQ-WLB (Ethical Competence Questionnaire – Working Life and Business), in order to keep better track of the participants’ skills for autonomous problem-solving before and after the instruction. This tool has a structure somewhat similar to the Defining Issues Test as it presents seven short stories about a business or working life problem, followed by four different aspects to consider before any decision is made. The job of the participant is to rank them (1, 2) in terms of their importance. Two of them represent the autonomous and the other two represent the heteronomous way of solving the problem, and the higher the subject ranks the autonomous aspects, the more inclined toward this kind of problem-solving s/he is estimated to be.130

130 One of the stories in a version of ECQ-WLB was the following: “You are the president of a major bank, and you have discovered that one of the oldest and most trusted employees in the organization systematically uses a computer-routine to transfer client capital to accounts of his own. He is a high-ranking executive and is seen as one of the bank’s well-known
Also, he has shifted from working with hypothetical problems during the instructional phase to the participants’ real and personal problems (related to their job positions) during extended workshops of 2–3 days, aiming to give the participants a profound education in ethical competence. The results have been promising: after a workshop with 17 businesspeople in the private sector, their increased score of autonomy directly after instruction (3.4 to 8.6) was still evident one month later (but a bit lower to 7.5). After a workshop with 49 public servants, their increased score of autonomy (not tested directly after instruction) was still evident in a post-test four months later (from 3.8 to 5.0).

Likewise, after a workshop with 36 politicians, their increased score of autonomy was still evident in a post-test one month later (from 4.2 to 6.2) and in a follow-up test two and a half years later (slightly lower to 6.1). Moreover, the participants have reported that their improved skills were useful in their professional lives, that they were able to handle problematic situations with a greater ethical awareness and confidence than before and that they were satisfied with this.131

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Influence on the Three Step Model

Kavathatzopoulos’ studies were the most important source of influence when the Three Step Model (especially the two first steps) was developed, for the following reasons: (A) They indicated that long-term effects could be achieved by means of a relatively small intervention. (B) The idea behind the intervention (the autonomy training) could easily be transferred to just a few lessons of ethics teaching in upper secondary school. (C) It was of a kind that could make a bridge between the students’ reasoning and behavior (i.e., influence the decisions they made in real life), as it gave them a strategy to deal with everyday moral problems more successfully without requiring them to necessarily become more altruistic or “better” people than they were before.
3. HOW IS ETHICS TAUGHT TODAY?

Introduction

Even though the ethical perspective, according to the national curriculum, should be present in all subjects in the Swedish upper secondary school system, it is only in religious education and philosophy (and special courses for healthcare students) that ethics is taught as a separate curricular event. Of these subjects, philosophy is only studied by a minority of students, whereas religious education is studied by all of them – in the form of Religion 1 (a course that is normally given in the third grade). For this reason, the development of the ethics section in Religion 1 is the focus of this study. In order to know what is meant to be developed, however, we need to know something about its content and structure today.

The curriculum and the subject syllabus for the course is quite clear, at least regarding the core content. Religion 1 should be taught in a non-confessional way and include the study of Christianity and the other world religions and outlooks of life, as well as their different views of humans and God. Religions should be related to gender, socioeconomic background, ethnicity and sexuality, and it should be discussed how the identities of individuals and groups can be shaped in relation to religions and other outlooks on life. Also,

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133 Ibid, p. 5.
the students should learn about the different views on the relationship between religion and science.134 With regard to the ethics teaching, the core content should be “interpretation and analysis of different theories and models in normative ethics, and how these can be applied,” “ethical and moral views of what a good life and a good society can be” and “analysis of arguments on ethical issues based on Christianity, other world religions and outlooks on life, and on the students’ own standpoints.” As a result of the ethics teaching in the religious education, the students should acquire “the ability to use ethical concepts, theories and models” as well as “the ability to examine and analyze ethical issues in relation to Christianity, other religions and outlooks on life.”135

So, that is the intention behind the course. But how is the ethics section actually planned and presented in the Swedish classrooms? In an early phase of this study, conversations with 18 teachers at nine different schools (of which a majority later became informants) were carried out, in which they were asked to describe how they structured their teaching for me to get an idea of what the ethics section normally looked like before any instructions were given. Although the conversations showed that they worked differently, there were some interesting similarities to be found as well.

**General structure and content**

On average, the ethics section was reported to take about five or six sessions to complete.136 The most common introduction was to give examples of, and initiate a discussion about, (everyday) ethical problems without immediately connecting them to the normative theories.137 Five of the teachers, however,

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135 Ibid, p. 137.
136 One of the teachers, no. 12, had a quite different way of teaching ethics, as he did not really have an “ethics section” but spread out three or four ethics sessions (focusing on discussion) during the entire course. His report is thus not really applicable to the review of the ethics sections.
137 Teachers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 17.
introduced the normative theories already in session 1. 138 Two introduced the religion course and the ethics section at the same time, in order for the students to see that they belonged together. 139 Another teacher introduced the ethics section by presenting the golden rule (which has parallels in several religions) and later the characteristic ethics of the different religions. 140 Two of the teachers used an ethics game, in which the students pulled a card with a morally sensitive issue written on it, for them to have an opinion about. 141 One showed video clips to the students for them to respond to. 142 Another teacher discussed with the students whether morality was innate and to what extent it may have to do with cultural background. 143

**Box 8:**
How the teachers reported that they introduced the ethics section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity during introduction session</th>
<th>Some examples of how this was done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiating a discussion about moral problems without yet connecting them to normative theories (12 teachers)</td>
<td>Presenting the golden rule and its parallels in different religions (1 teacher); Using an ethics game in which the students pulled a card with a morally sensitive issue written on it to have opinions about (2 teachers); Showing video clips for the students to respond to (1 teacher); Discussing whether morality is innate or cultural (1 teacher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing and applying the normative theories (5 teachers)</td>
<td>Asking the students which one of the theories they find most appealing (1 teacher); Application on everyday problems (1 teacher); Application on important choices in life (1 teacher)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138 Teachers 2, 9, 13, 15 and 18.
139 Teachers 4 and 14.
140 Teacher 8.
141 Teachers 7 and 17.
142 Teacher 11.
143 Teacher 16.
In most cases, the normative theories were introduced in session two or three, normally with a focus on consequential and duty (and sometimes intention\textsuperscript{144}) ethics for the students to apply to ethical problems during a few sessions. How this was done varied a lot. Generally, the teacher let them discuss a number of problems in small groups and later in the whole class, often in ways that gave them an opportunity to take turns being a consequentialist, a duty ethicist, etc.\textsuperscript{145} One of the teachers explained the difference between intention, duty and consequence ethics by drawing a time axis on the whiteboard (symbolizing the time before the action, the action itself and the time following the action).\textsuperscript{146} Another teacher let the students play the “hot chair,” in which they had to take a stand on different moral issues depending on the chair they were sitting on.\textsuperscript{147} Four teachers also let the students immerse themselves in a problem they had chosen themselves, as a preparation for (or beginning of) the examination task.\textsuperscript{148}

Regarding the content of the ethical discussions, at least five of the teachers let the students discuss capital punishment;\textsuperscript{149} at least three of them let the students discuss abortion;\textsuperscript{150} at least two of them euthanasia,\textsuperscript{151} eating meat,\textsuperscript{152} genetic manipulation,\textsuperscript{153} whether it can be right to steal\textsuperscript{154} or whether one has

\textsuperscript{144} Intention ethics = sinnelagsetik.

\textsuperscript{145} Teachers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15 and 16.

\textsuperscript{146} Teacher 7.

\textsuperscript{147} Teacher 15.

\textsuperscript{148} Teachers 2, 4, 9 and 11.

\textsuperscript{149} Teachers 5, 6, 7, 9 and 13.

\textsuperscript{150} Teachers 2, 9 and 11.

\textsuperscript{151} Teachers 1 and 2.

\textsuperscript{152} Teachers 1 and 2.

\textsuperscript{153} Teachers 12 and 15.

\textsuperscript{154} Teachers 7 and 10.
the duty to intervene during abuse. Other problems discussed were immigration, sharing files, cheating in school, animal testing, political violence, organ donation and military intervention in warring countries. Apart from initiating discussions about ethical problems, one of the teachers (who wanted the students to discover the normative theories themselves before he introduced them) also taught them to separate what felt right psychologically from what was ethically right.

Another teacher showed a video about the problem with Muslim midwives in Europe wanting to wear a veil at work for the students to discuss from different normative points of view. Yet another teacher let the students discuss the famous John Hron case (about a Swedish boy who was murdered by Nazis in the 1990s, following a conflict with them): If they knew that someone planned to kill the murderer in jail, would they report this to the police? What would be the right thing to do from the perspective of the normative theories?

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155 Teachers 5 and 7.
156 Teacher 6
157 Teacher 9
158 Teacher 8
159 Teacher 11
160 Teacher 18
161 Teacher 1.
162 Teacher 1.
163 Teacher 10.
164 Teacher 11.
165 Teacher 3.
Box 9:
How the teachers reported that they continued the ethics section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity during continuation sessions</th>
<th>Some examples of how it was done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introducing and applying the normative theories; discussing ethical problems in the light of these (12 teachers)</td>
<td>Letting the students discuss a number of problems (in small groups and later in the whole class) from different points of view (12 teachers); Drawing a time-axis on the whiteboard to show the difference between the focus of the normative theories (1 teacher); Letting the students play the “hot chair” in which they had to take a stand on a moral issue depending on the chair they were sitting on (1 teacher);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing ethical problems in light of the already introduced normative theories (5 teachers)</td>
<td>Showing a video with a moral problem for the students to respond to from different points of view (1 teacher); Teaching them to separate what feels right psychologically from what is ethically right (1 teacher); Letting the students immerse themselves in an ethical problem they had chosen themselves as a preparation for the examination task (4 teachers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the examination task was given, it normally had the character of an essay (or an article) in which the students were asked to discuss an important ethical problem (such as capital punishment or euthanasia) from different normative points of view and formulate a personal opinion about it. The essay was either completed at home or in class, and the students were normally allowed to have the normative theories in front of them when they completed it.166 Only one of the teachers gave the students a more traditional written test.167

Two of the teachers just examined their students orally, in groups, by letting them present the different (normative) views of a particular problem. One of them told the students to take the views of the world religions into account as well.168 Two others examined the students both in writing and orally. One of them made an oral examination by letting the students play the “hot chair” in which they discussed and defended the position they had

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166 Teachers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.
167 Teacher 13.
168 Teachers 2 and 9.
taken in the written part of the examination. The other one let the students play different roles, for example of a utilitarian, for the rest of the class to guess which ethical theories they represented.\textsuperscript{169}

\textbf{Box 10:}
How the teachers reported that they examined the ethics section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of examination</th>
<th>How it was done</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letting the students show their knowledge in writing (14 teachers)</td>
<td>Letting the students write an essay (or article) individually, in which they formulated an opinion about an ethical problem guided by one or more of the normative theories (13 teachers); Letting the students do a traditional test in which the theories are applied to problems (1 teacher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letting the students show their knowledge orally (2 teachers)</td>
<td>Letting the students present the different (normative) views of a particular ethical problem in groups (2 teachers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letting the students show their knowledge in writing \textit{and} orally (2 teachers)</td>
<td>In writing: letting the students apply theories on a real case. Orally: letting them play the “hot chair” in which they discuss and defend the solutions they chose (1 teacher); Group presentation of different normative views of an ethical problem, on the basis of a paper that is handed in to the teacher (1 teacher)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Comments}

On the basis of the 18 conversations with teachers reviewed here (which are possibly, but not necessarily, representative of a larger population), we can draw some tentative conclusions. One is that the most common way of introducing the ethics section appears to be giving examples of moral problems \textit{without} immediately connecting them to the normative theories. But once these have been explained, they are used as the most important guides regarding what is right or wrong: the students should learn how to argue for a solution to an ethical problem on the basis of a normative theory. Another observation is that a variety of different problems are discussed during the ethics section, but that there appears to be some emphasis on “heavier” problems such as capital punishment and euthanasia. A third one is that the most common way to examine the students appears to be letting them write an essay on it.

\textsuperscript{169} Teacher 11 and 16.
in which an ethical problem is addressed and solved from the perspective of at least one normative theory.

Having this as a background, we now turn to the Three Step Model, which in this study was tested as the challenger of regular ethics teaching and, as we shall see, is quite different in both structure and content, in order to create a greater long-term impact in the minds of students – at least regarding their awareness of ethical problems in everyday life.
4. THE THREE STEP MODEL VS. GUIDED REGULAR TEACHING

Introduction

In order to test whether the Three Step Model was a more effective method than “regular” ethics teaching when it comes to increasing the students’ ethical awareness, it was compared to a condition in which the teachers were free to teach as they used to, but with some added guidelines. In this chapter, both of these “methods” are described and explained for the reader to understand the idea behind the Three Step Model and know the differences (and similarities) between the intervention and control groups regarding how the teachers were instructed.

The Three Step Model: An overview

The purpose of the Three Step Model is to give ethics teaching a new and more effective formula than the one prescribed in the present syllabus for Religion 1 (though it corresponds to, for example, the prescription saying that the students should acquire “the ability to use ethical concepts, theories and models”).\textsuperscript{170} It is not primarily a content but a method, which implies

\textsuperscript{170} Skolverket (2010), p. 138. The fact that the Three Step Model only partially corresponds to the present syllabus for Religion 1 is something that every teacher who wants to use it has
that if a teacher would follow its structure but replace the exercises with other exercises of the same types (or introduce other normative theories in step 3), it would still be the Three Step Model, just a different version.

It was developed to increase the students’ ethical awareness in the long term, which implies that if it does not make a difference in their minds well beyond the examination test, it cannot be said to have fulfilled its purpose. Only a test of its long-term effectiveness can tell. It rests on the conviction that before it is meaningful to introduce the students to normative theories and their ways of determining what is right or wrong, one has to develop their personal abilities to deal with (emotionally charged) real-life problems – otherwise there will be no link in their minds between ethical theory and moral practice. Here, the development of moral autonomy is a key component, as it means becoming more rational and independent in the face of a moral problem. Hopefully, this will also increase the ability to recognize the problem in the first place.171

The Three Step Model is meant to take 6–9 sessions to implement and it is made up of three distinctive steps and five different exercise types, all of them worked out beforehand and gradually preparing the students for the examination test.

Box 11:
The five exercises types in the Three Step Model

| Type 1: To recognize an ethical problem (3–5 examples should be completed) |
| Type 2A: To solve a problem with arguments from the concrete situation (3–5 examples should be completed) |
| Type 2B: To solve a personal problem with arguments from the concrete situation (an essay where 2–3 examples should be completed) |
| Type 3A: To relate a solution to a normative theory (4–5 examples should be completed in order for both utilitarianism and Kantianism to be covered) |
| Type 3B: To relate the solution of a personal problem to a normative theory (an essay where 1 example should be completed) |

To consider for him/herself. There is not necessarily a conflict between using the method and following the syllabus, but the syllabus is not written in a way that really supports it. The intention behind the method is to develop practice, and if many teachers develop their practice, this can in turn influence the syllabus. But for the time being, it may be that a teacher who wants to use the method needs to rely on his/her personal judgment and accept to, so to say, stand with one foot inside and one foot outside the current tradition.

171 Kavathatzopoulos, personal communication (August 2010).
In the examination test (also worked out beforehand), the students should be able to recognize an ethical problem, solve it with arguments from the concrete situation and relate the solution to a normative theory in a way that summarizes what has been learnt by the previous exercises. This may be a difficult test for some of the students, but in the instructions to the teacher, it is recommended that the ability to recognize a problem and solve it autonomously should be the criterion for approval, while the ability to relate the solution to a normative theory should be a criterion for a higher grade.

The method also draws on the didactic principles of *repetition* and *building on existing knowledge*.\(^{172}\) By first of all learning how to *recognize* an ethical problem, then learning how to *solve* it properly, then learning how to *relate* the solution to a normative theory – by means of several repetitions at every step – the students will hopefully not have to solve any ethical problems until they have understood what an ethical problem is, and hopefully not have to apply the normative theories until they have understood the nature of the problem-solving process these theories are meant to support. In other words, they will hopefully not have to elaborate on something they have not yet understood.\(^{173}\)

Even though the instructions are detailed, they are not meant to make *all* the decisions for the teacher. For instance, s/he can often decide how many examples (3, 4 or 5) of a certain exercise type the students have to complete; this depends on how fast they work and how much time they need in order to understand it. Also, s/he can decide how much time s/he will use to comment and discuss the students’ answers in class (although *some* of the time in-between the exercises should be used for this). The purpose of this built-in flexibility is to make it possible for the teacher to follow the guidelines but still present the teaching with some degree of – autonomy.

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\(^{173}\) Ibid, p. 152.
Step 1: To recognize an ethical problem

Guidelines for the teacher

Before handing out the first exercise type, the teacher should explain what ethics is, connect it to the religious education and tell the students about an ethical problem s/he has encountered personally. An ethical problem, the teacher should make clear, typically involves at least two parties. The teacher should explain what the three steps in the model are all about and emphasize the purpose: that the students should become more conscious about how they deal with ethical problems in real life.

S/he should also help the students with the exercises; first of all by letting them see an already completed example of type 1 and make sure that they understand what they should do. After that, s/he should give them another example of the same exercise type and let the students complete it themselves, individually, as the teacher moves around in the classroom, helping and giving suggestions to those in need of it.

Exercise type 1

Here, the students should be able to recognize an ethical problem; that is, to derive a problem from a hypothetical situation where no problem is yet formulated and make it explicit why they derived this particular problem.

Jack and Joe are colleagues. Several times Jack has heard colleagues talk behind Joe’s back in a way that could hurt him if he found out. What do you think is the ethical problem that Jack is facing right now? Why? (You should not solve the problem, just formulate it.)

An adequate answer here could be that “Jack does not know if it would be ethical for him to tell Joe about what he has heard, because he does not want to hurt him.” Another could be that “Jack does not know if it would be ethical for him not to tell Joe what he has heard, since he feels obliged to keep
Joe informed about it.” Both of these answers show that the student has understood that an ethical problem is something you have in relationship to someone (or something) else.

If the student, on the other hand, should write: “Jack does not know if it is ethical to tell Joe what he has heard, because he is afraid that he will lose Joe as a friend,” it would not really be an adequate answer, since it does not distinguish the ethical considerations from other considerations (such as how do I avoid getting into conflicts). Here, it is the teacher’s job to tell the student that the answer is on the right track but needs to be re-formulated in order for the recognized problem to be purely ethical. Another example:

Cindy has a grandson whom she finds very difficult to handle, because he is hyperactive and needs to be looked after all the time. As she is now retired, it has become increasingly important for Cindy to be able to relax after a long life of hard work and child rearing. However, one day Cindy’s daughter tells her that she and her husband need to get away for a week but do not know what to do with the boy. What do you think is the ethical problem that Cindy is facing right now? Why? (You should not solve the problem, just formulate it.)

An adequate answer here could be that “Cindy does not know if it is ethical for her not to offer babysitting for a week, because she wishes what is best for her daughter and wants to help as much as possible.” Alternatively: “Cindy does not know if it is ethical for her to take care of the boy for a week, since it might result in her treating the boy badly because she is so tired.” By contrast, an answer that just had to do with Cindy’s need to protect herself from the grandchild would not really have been adequate here, as it does not pinpoint the ethical aspect of the problem.

What is the point?

To be able to recognize an ethical problem in a hypothetical story is, of course, not the same as being able to do it in real life, where situations are much more complex and open for interpretation. But it is a precondition for it if we talk about the ability not just to feel that something is wrong and immediately do something about it, but also to assign it with words and
thereby become more aware of it. By formulating an ethical problem without immediately having to solve it, you admit to yourself that there are doubts about a certain way of action (even though it is not necessarily wrong). This way, you have not gone all the way to solve the (perceived) problem, but sometimes this is not necessary. You may just have to leave it as is for a while, or you may want to consider the different ways of solving it before you come to a decision. In either case, the very stop you make when you recognize an ethical problem will increase the likelihood of a well-reasoned solution; the first step in the Three Step Model is to reach this point in the consideration of an ethical problem.

Step 2: To solve a problem with arguments from the concrete situation

Guidelines for the teacher

As an introduction to this step, the teacher should explain the difference between autonomous and heteronomous problem-solving, give an example of this difference from a real-life situation and tell the students that the aim of step 2 is to help them become more autonomous in their ways of dealing with ethical problems. (Here the teacher can draw interesting parallels to virtue ethics as autonomy is conceptually quite close to the practical wisdom that Aristotle referred to as phronesis.) Just as in step 1, it is the teachers’ job to be mobile in the classroom when the students are doing the exercises and make sure that they have understood what they should do.

Exercise type 2A

Here, the students should learn how to solve an ethical problem with arguments from the concrete situation (i.e., in a way that does not minimize the problem by taking a shortcut to a standard solution). This implies that they
should be able to recognize at least three different ways of solving the problem; after that, they should argue in favor of one of them, without referring (solely) to a rule or authority. An example:

David is walking downtown when a woman stops him. She explains that she is very poor and asks him to give her some money so that she can make it through the day. The ethical problem David is facing is that he does not know if it is ethical for him to just leave, since that would mean that he would not help her the way he could. Exemplify at least three ways in which David could solve the problem. Explain which one you would have chosen if you were him and support it with arguments from the concrete situation.

Many answers could be adequate here, but its form should be something like: “David could (A) leave just as he first intended to; (B) show her the way to the closest job center; (C) give her some money. If I was David, I would show her the way to the closest job center since this would encourage her to do something more radical about her situation than just go around begging. If she is lucky, she will meet a person who can help her.”

What is important here is that the student is able to come up with three different solutions (three requires a more open mind than two), that they all correspond to the problem (the woman is poor and David does not feel comfortable ignoring it) and that the choice is justified by the situation, not just by a general rule such as: “one should always help a person in need” or “one should not give money to beggars” (it is sometimes a matter of interpretation whether or not something is a general rule). The solution itself is not as important as the student’s way of justifying it – the teacher does not even have to agree that the job center solution is the best one. Any way of solving the problem, even if it means not to do anything in particular, can be adequate if the student is able to come up with situation-based (autonomous) arguments for it. Another example:

Jennifer works as a salesperson at a company selling IT solutions. She has been told by her boss not to tell the customers about the extra fee that will be added to the monthly price if they do not explicitly ask about it. The ethical problem Jennifer is facing is that she does not know if it is ethical for her not to tell the customers the whole truth because she senses that she fools them. Exemplify at least three ways
in which Jennifer could solve the problem. Explain which one you would have chosen if you were her and support it with arguments from the concrete situation.

An adequate answer here could be: “Jennifer could (A) do as the boss has told her, (B) tell the customers about the fee anyway or (C) do as the boss has told her until she gets in the position to change the ethical guidelines of the company. If I was Jennifer, I would choose alternative C, because I would then be able to improve the situation for the customers (and perhaps also my coworkers) without putting my own employment at risk.” What is important here is that the student’s answer is autonomous, both in relationship to what the boss has told Jennifer and to the general notion than “one should not fool customers.” Both are important aspects to consider but neither one of them should be the sole argument for doing one thing rather than another.

Exercise type 2B

When the students have understood what it means to solve a problem with arguments from the concrete situation, it is time for them to use this understanding in 2B. This is the most important exercise type of them all as it tests their ability to apply the autonomous problem solving-skill on personal, self-experienced, ethical problems.

You will now give an example of a real ethical problem that you try to solve. Use a situation in the past that has affected you emotionally – or that you know has affected someone else emotionally. You now have the chance to solve the problem in a better way than might have been the case in real life. (If you find it difficult to come up with something, go back in memory to find something that you consider wrong of you to do to someone, maybe because you followed your first impulse. What could you have done instead if you would have been more considerate?)

1. Shortly about the situation. What was the ethical problem that the person faced? And why do you consider it an ethical problem?
2. Describe the possible solutions; for example, which choices did the person have (there should be at least three). Explain which one you would have chosen today and support it with arguments from the concrete situation.

Since this exercise could be challenging for some students, the teacher should not be nitpicking when giving comments or corrections. Nevertheless, it is important to make sure that the students have not misunderstood, for example, what an ethical problem is. An adequate answer could be something like:

When I was in the lower secondary school, I once had a test in science. I hadn’t studied so I knew I wouldn’t pass without cheating a bit. So that was my ethical problem: I wanted to cheat but it didn’t feel right in relationship to my classmates.

My alternatives were (A) to cheat anyway, (B) to do the test without cheating, (C) to send a text to my teacher before the lesson, saying that I had become sick. Today, I would have chosen the last alternative, to text the teacher, because then I could have passed the test later without cheating, which would have felt much better.

What is important here is that the student describes the problem, comes up with three alternative ways of action and justifies his/her choice by explaining how it would solve the problem without referring to “one should not cheat” as an absolute rule. S/he is perfectly aware that cheating would have been an alternative but makes a different choice for a good reason. Only a student who has understood the instruction to solve a problem with arguments from the concrete situation will come up with an answer such as this.

What is the point?

The second step is closely linked to the first. While the first one is about learning to recognize an ethical problem (i.e., to admit that there are doubts about a certain kind of action), the second one is about recognizing the different alternatives you have before making a choice. One could say that this takes the ethical awareness a step further as it implies (even more) developing
an independent relationship to the notion of what “should” be done, learning to postpone a decision when it is needed and using deliberate problem-solving in situations when we normally just act by instinct or habit. Not as a way of finding the universal answer to what is right (if there is one) but to find the personal answer to what is best, given all the circumstances. A problem-solving skill that is most effectively developed by focusing on real and personal ethical problems.\textsuperscript{174} Autonomous thinking has to be applied to situations where there are some emotions involved; this is the reason why exercise 2B is such an essential part of the Three Step Model.

\section*{Step 3: To relate a solution to a normative theory}

\textbf{Guidelines for the teacher}

Now, the teacher should explain, it is time to take the ethical discussion to a more principled level and ask: how do we do to find out what is actually right or wrong? Is there a universal standard for this? Things can certainly be considered morally wrong even though they are permitted by law (such as following the low speed limits in traffic when someone has a heart attack). Philosophers have questioned this and now, the teacher should explain, it is time for us to do so by taking a look at a number of normative theories, particularly utilitarianism and Kantianism (or somewhat simplified versions of them).

Consequently, the teacher should explain utilitarianism; preferably the classical theory by Bentham and Mill (because it is relatively easy to apply), according to which the only intrinsic values in the world are joy and happiness, and actions are morally right only insofar as they promote those values. A commonly used slogan is “the greatest happiness for the greatest number.”\textsuperscript{175} So, for example, telling a lie that will make someone happy can often be justified by utilitarianism (but not, for example, by Kantianism). What

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{174} Malti & Latzko (2010), p. 6; Kavathatzopoulos, personal communication (May 2011).
\end{flushright}
the students should learn is to apply this principle to a solution to an ethical problem; in other words, to ask themselves how the solution (most probably) would be judged by a utilitarian ethicist. In order to do this, they should complete the two first examples of exercise type 3A (focusing on the utilitarian perspective) while the teacher is helping them, just as in the earlier exercises.

After that, the teacher should explain Kantianism, according to which we all know in our rational minds (insofar as we are rational) what is right or wrong (i.e., our duties). For example, we know that we should always tell the truth, keep a promise, help someone in need and save an innocent (human) life when possible. But to be able to use this knowledge of ours, we have to be rational and not let ourselves be governed by our emotional minds, which could lead us in the wrong direction. To help us find the right principles for action, Kant has formulated the categorical imperative: “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will/wish that it should become a universal law.” In other words, we should only do (or not do) what we could rationally and simultaneously recommend everyone else to do (or not do). This, for example, makes lying wrong in itself as it cannot be generally prescribed by the liar.

Just as the case with utilitarianism, the students should learn how to apply the principle to a solution to an ethical problem, by asking themselves how a Kantian ethicist (using the categorical imperative) would judge it. In order to do this, they should complete the rest of the exercises of type 3A. When they are finished, they should move on to 3B, which is the last and concluding exercise type in the Three Step Model.

Exercise type 3A

Darlene has been cheating on her boyfriend Roy. She has come to the conclusion that what is morally right is not to say anything to him,

\textsuperscript{176} When explaining Kant, the teacher can also draw parallels to the golden rule of Christianity and/or the five moral rules of Buddhism.

but to insist that she was visiting a girlfriend, since she does not want to hurt him and has no plans of being unfaithful again. How do you think that a utilitarian ethicist would judge Darlene’s decision? Why? How do you think that a Kantian ethicist would judge it? Why?

Here, an adequate answer could be something like: “The utilitarian would probably think that the decision was good since it does not make anyone suffer. If Roy doesn’t know what Darlene has been up to, he won’t be hurt by it. The Kantian, on the other hand, would probably think it wrong of Darlene not to tell the truth. Lying is not something you can do and at the same time recommend it to everyone else.”

What is most important here is that the student understands the difference between the two ways of determining right and wrong. While the consequences of a lie are very relevant for a utilitarian ethicist, it is not the focus of the Kantian, who considers lying to be wrong by principle. So, if the student had written that the Kantian would “find it wrong because it will hurt Roy when he finds out,” it would not have been an adequate answer since a Kantian does not determine right and wrong by looking at the consequences. Another example:

Azzer is a physician at a big hospital. A patient of his, a 56-year-old woman, gets morphine every day because of her severe pain. She has cancer in her stomach and according to the prognosis she will not live for more than another two months. Her family is there every day, wishing that her suffering will come to an end. Because of this, Azzer has decided to increase the doses of morphine so that she will pass away within the next three days. To her family (and other doctors), Azzer will say that he increased the morphine dose because he had to; her pain was too severe. How do you think that a utilitarian ethicist would judge Azzer’s decision? Why? How do you think a Kantian ethicist would judge it? Why?

An example of an adequate answer: “The utilitarian has no objections to Azzer’s decision as its consequences seem to be good, both for the woman and her family. A Kantian ethicist, though, could have objections because it means that an innocent life is being killed, which is wrong by principle. What is more, he is not really telling the truth about it. On the other hand, it could also be argued that Azzer is helping a person in need, which is a principle that
should always be followed according to Kant.” To be able to give such an answer, the student does not only have to understand the basic difference between the theories, s/he also has to acknowledge the complexity of a case like this, which makes it less easy to judge morally (especially from a Kantian point of view).

Exercise type 3B

It is now time for you to relate your own and real ethical problems (exercise type 2B) to different ethical theories. Choose a problem that you consider having been solved in a good way!

1. Describe the problem in short, how you solved it and why you solved it that way (you don’t have to include the alternative ways of solving it this time).

2. How do you think that a utilitarian ethicist would judge your solution? Why? How do you think that a Kantian ethicist would judge it? Why?

Here, the teacher has to make sure that the students really make use of their real and personal ethical problems (from exercise type 2B) and that they are able to separate the solution to the problem from the ethical theories testing the solution. This is how an adequate answer could be formulated:

I wrote about a problem having to do with a possibility a friend of mine had, to be unfaithful to his girlfriend when he was on an island with some friends. I came to the conclusion that if I had been in his shoes, I would have chosen not to be unfaithful since it would have given me a bad conscience and since she might find out sooner or later.

I believe a utilitarian would think that my decision was good, as it would mean that I neither hurt myself nor my girlfriend. A Kantian would probably think it was right of me as well since it cannot become a universal law to be unfaithful when you have promised otherwise.
The student describes the personal problem (even though it was a friend’s) and how it was solved. S/he understands that a utilitarian ethicist would probably approve of the solution since no bad consequences are likely to be created. Also, s/he understands how Kantianism should be applied, as s/he states that breaking a promise would not pass the test of the categorical imperative. A student cannot give an answer such as this unless s/he has understood what an ethical problem is, how it applies in everyday life, how it can be solved autonomously and how the solution can be related to a normative theory.

What is the point?

As we have seen, the introduction and application of normative theories is a fundamental aspect of ethics teaching as it is normally presented in the upper secondary school. Although it varies when, the theories are sooner or later introduced as alternative philosophical starting points, aiming to navigate the problem-solver toward valid conclusions about what would be right or wrong, given a particular set of circumstances. The students thereby become trained in applying a philosophical decision-making model to ethical problems, which could be helpful in situations when they find themselves unable to really determine what the right way of action would be.

But the primary purpose of the Three Step Model is not to make the students better at finding out what would be the right thing to do in theory. Rather, it is for them to answer the question: “Given that you have this situation and that you are the one you are, what could you realistically do to make things better (if you agree with me that the first impulse is not always leading you in the right direction)?” In order to answer this in a personal and honest way, the student does not need a theory as a starting point. Rather, this would lead the student away from the autonomous way of solving the problem, into a heteronomous way where it becomes very relevant what someone else expects him/her to answer. A normative theory (introduced too
early) would thus be limiting rather than widening the potential of the question.178

In addition to this, there is no evidence that the understanding and application of normative theories by itself will improve the students’ abilities to respond to ethical problems.179 Rather, people develop when their cognitive skills are directly being exercised, regardless of what any philosophy (or religious tradition) would say about right and wrong.180 In Kavatazopoulos’ approach to moral education, normative theories are not used at all because they do not resemble the ways in which we deal with ethical problems in real life.181 So if the purpose of the Three Step Model was moral upbringing only, the theories would perhaps not even have been necessary to introduce.

But since it is also meant to be a method for formal ethics teaching, in which the explanation and application of the normative theories is a fundamental part of the tradition,182 they have their place as a vital complement to step 1 and 2. (Thereby it may be possible that some of the students can start using the theories in everyday life as indicators of what the best solution would be, without being limited by them.) When the solution to an ethical problem is arrived upon in a way that the student understands and can be responsible for, the theories are introduced as ways of examining whether the solutions can also be justified philosophically. It is important, however, that the solution to the problem is not derived from a single theory (as this would be limiting their thinking); therefore, relating the solution to two theories is better.

In this version of the Three Step Model, classical utilitarianism and Kantianism have been selected as the two most important normative theories to introduce in this step. They are not the only theories that the teachers should mention but they are the ones that I recommend the teachers to use, because (A) they represent the two perhaps most important normative traditions: consequentialism and deontology, and (B) they are relatively easy to put side by side (at least when they are simplified) in the face of a moral problem as

guides regarding what is right or wrong. But of course, I do not exclude the possibility of replacing one or two of them with other theories, as long as the two are easy to compare and contrast to each other regarding what the “right” way of solving a moral problem would be.

The examination test

The students should know from the beginning that the examination is a written test where all the three steps in the model will be assessed. This way, it will be natural for them to save the exercises they have done to be able to go back and repeat them. The suggested criteria for different grades (which are part of the instructions to the teachers)\textsuperscript{183} are meant to be handed out and explained to the students directly after they have done exercise 3B. When the day of the examination comes, this is one of the three tests that the teacher can use:

Annette works as a therapist in a psychologist company. She is relatively new in the business. Late on Friday night, she gets a phone call from one of her patients, a 20-year-old woman who has previously been treated for eating disorders. The woman is devastated and has slipped into a suicidal behavior. Annette wonders why she calls as she hasn’t given the woman her private number. The woman answers that it is because she “feels so fucking bad.” She wants Annette to take her car and drive to her home. Annette explains that according to the rules in her company, she is only allowed to admit patients during office hours as appointments.

1. What do you think is the ethical problem Annette is facing right now, and why does she experience it as an ethical problem?

2. How can Annette solve this? Give at least three examples of what she could do in this situation. Explain what you would do if you were

\textsuperscript{183} As they are quite different from the grade criteria for Religion 1, they should merely be seen as suggestions, based on what I find the most important for the students to learn from the Three Step Model.
Annette and why that solution, in this situation, would be the best one.

3. How do you think a utilitarian ethicist would judge your way of solving the problem? Why? How do you think a Kantian ethicist would judge it? Why?

The suggested grade criteria prescribe that for the student to be approved on this test, s/he has to be able to answer the first and the second question according to the instructions. To receive a higher grade, s/he also has to give an adequate answer to the third question. And in order to receive the highest grade, s/he also has to be clear, convincing and detailed in his/her way of answering – like the student who wrote the following (an authentic example):

Annette probably does not know if it would be ethical for her to follow the rules of the company and refrain from going home to the woman, since the patient is obviously devastated, she can be dangerous to herself in the present situation, and even asks Annette personally for help.

Annette can (A) ignore the patient’s request and stay home according to the rules of the company; (B) go home to the patient and help her privately anyway; (C) try to calm her down over the telephone; (D) give her the number to another psychologist on duty – provided that there is one. If so, I would choose alternative D. This way, Annette could help her get some treatment without having to break the rules of the company. At the same time, Annette does not have to promise her to be responsible for her mental health privately, apart from the job, which Annette would probably not have been able to do in the long run.

A classical utilitarian would probably see it as a good solution. It avoids unnecessary suffering because Annette does not have to have a bad conscience for breaking the rules of the company. That the rules of the company are being followed is also good from a utilitarian perspective, because it can increase the respect for the privacy of the employees, which lessens the risk that the employees will suffer. It is possible that the patient feels devastated that Annette didn’t want to help her personally but knowing that there is a therapist on duty (if there is one) can help her now as well as in future reoccurring situations.
If you see the solution from a Kantian perspective, the case is more difficult. The principle that, whenever you feel uncomfortable, you pass the responsibility on to someone else is not something that I could see as a universal law. But at the same time, she has the duty to follow the instructions she has been given by the company, because otherwise she would contradict the very idea of a rule, and she would not help the administration of the company. It depends on which duty you see as the strongest and most important to fulfill. Annette’s views and opinions also matter a lot since, according to Kant, one should fulfill one’s duties and act out of good will rather than out of empathy, or in order to achieve a goal. Additional information and consideration are needed in order to judge the quality of the solution.184

The basic teaching guide

In order to give the Three Step Model some worthy resistance, the basic teaching guide was made to be a checklist for the teachers in the control group, aiming to ensure that their teaching, despite all the differences from the Three Step Model, still would have some basic similarities to it. This would make the outcomes of the two teaching conditions possible to compare by the same standard (and the reasons for possible outcome differences easier to track). The checklist had the following items:

1. Have a real go with ethics this time. Give them at least six lessons with a well-worked-out content (including the examination session).

This was to ensure that the teachers in the control group prioritized the ethics section just as much as those in the intervention group could be expected to do. As there are teachers who normally use less than six sessions for ethics teaching (see Chapter 3), it was considered important to tell them to make it at least six sessions. Thereby, it was hoped that the length of the teaching periods would not significantly affect the outcome differences between the

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184 This is a translation of an answer from a male philosophy student during the period when the Three Step Model was developed in 2012.
groups, which could otherwise be a risk as the teachers in the intervention group were encouraged to use up to 8–9 sessions (in case the students needed this for their understanding).

2. Explain to the students that the purpose of ethics teaching is for them to become better at discovering ethical problems in real life and develop their abilities to make conscious ethical choices.

This was to ensure that the teachers would encourage their students to engage wholeheartedly in the ethics section, by making them expect to develop a bit on a personal level. To some degree, the placebo effect will almost certainly contribute to the results in a study like this (especially the self-assessment part of the post-test), and in order to distribute that effect as equally as possible, the teachers in the control group were told (just as the teachers in the intervention group) to give their students this encouragement at the beginning of the teaching period.

3. Focus your teaching on ethical problems, especially problems that the students are likely to encounter themselves. Clarify that an ethical problem is something you have in relationship to someone else. Such a problem could, for example, have to do with the question of how honest one should be in situations when the truth may hurt someone. Try to avoid problems that are too extreme or imaginative, like “A man comes in with a shotgun…”

As the teachers in the intervention group were clearly instructed to focus on ethical problems and not primarily on the normative theories (which some tend to do), it was important that the teachers in the control group would do this too (albeit not with the same exercises). Also, it was important that both of the teaching conditions used problems that the students could relate to personally, as the purpose of the teaching was to increase their ethical awareness in real life.

4. Let the students discuss different solutions. When they have opinions, make sure that they can give rational justifications for these. “One cannot do that” or “It is wrong to do that” is not a sufficient argument in this context.
Since the emphasis in the intervention condition was very much on teaching the students to give well-thought-out arguments for their solutions, it was important that the control condition at least covered this aspect of moral problem-solving. Otherwise, there might have been an outcome difference between the groups just because one of them was taught to give rational justifications for their solutions and the other one was not.

5. Explain utilitarianism and Kant’s duty ethics to them and make sure that they understand the difference between the two theories (especially that, according to Kant, the consequences are not what really matters). Show how these philosophical theories can help us solve everyday ethical problems.

As the students in the intervention group were taught to relate their solutions to ethical problems to these normative theories, it was important that the students in the control group at least had the theories explained and applied by the teachers. This way, it was also possible to compare the two conditions regarding their ability to transmit some theoretical knowledge; for example, regarding the two perhaps most common decision-making models.

To sum up, this was how the Three Step Model and the basic teaching guide related to each other in terms of (intended) similarities between the conditions.
**Box 12:**
Correspondence between the Three Step Model and the basic teaching guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Three Step Model</th>
<th>The basic teaching guide</th>
<th>Resulting (intended) similarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The students had ethics teaching for 6–9 sessions.</td>
<td>Corresponding item: 1</td>
<td>Both groups had ethics teaching for at least 6 sessions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The students were told that the purpose of the teaching was to make them more conscious about how they dealt with ethical problems in real life.</td>
<td>Corresponding item: 2</td>
<td>Both groups were told that the purpose of the teaching was to improve their abilities to handle ethical problems in real life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The students discussed realistic ethical problems, including real and personal ones.</td>
<td>Corresponding item: 3</td>
<td>Both groups discussed realistic ethical problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The students were trained in solving the problems with arguments from the concrete situation (i.e. autonomously).</td>
<td>Corresponding item: 4</td>
<td>Both groups were trained in giving justifications to their solutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The students were trained in relating their solutions to utilitarianism and kantianism.</td>
<td>Corresponding item: 5</td>
<td>Both groups had utilitarianism and kantianism explained to them, and applied to ethical problems.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. HOW THE COMPARISON WAS MADE

Introduction

The comparison between the Three Step Model and the guided regular teaching took the form of a non-randomized controlled trial (a quasi-experimental study\(^{185}\)) in two parts. We here take a closer look at the methodological details of the study, regarding how the teachers and the students were selected, how the teachers were instructed, which information was given to the students when the ethics section was introduced, which questions were asked in the pre- and post-test and how the answers were quantified. This will hopefully be a sufficient background to the results presented in Chapter 6.

The intervention condition, Sub-study 1

Selection and instruction of teachers

In preparation for Sub-study 1, teachers in religious education at a large number of schools in the south of Sweden were contacted, in most cases by a letter

\(^{185}\) In order for a study to be experimental in the classic sense, the participants have to be randomly allocated to the different conditions. But since they were not in this one, it can only be classified as a quasi-experimental study.
to the principal for him/her to forward to the teacher responsible for the subject. In the cases when this teacher showed interest, s/he was met in person, normally also in company with other teachers in religious education at the same school. They were asked to give a short report about how they currently taught ethics. They were also asked if they wanted to participate in a study in which they taught according to a particular set of instructions, in one or more study groups. Those who agreed received a file folder about the Three Step Model with detailed instructions and exercises for every step. They were also told about the research in favor of the basic principles behind the method, but they were not told that they were in the intervention group. In other words, the selection of teachers and study groups was very much based on (A) which teachers agreed to participate in the study and (B) which study groups they had (and choose to involve in it). To minimize the risk that they would not completely understand or be able to follow the detailed instruction, they also received oral supervision twice during the teaching period: just before the start and right in the middle.

**Distribution of pre- and post-tests**

The teachers were told not to introduce the ethics section until I had been there and given the pre-tests to the students. When I did, the students were also informed about what the research project was about, that their teacher had received a certain set of instructions to follow and that other teachers had received other instructions. They were told that their participation was voluntary and they were also ensured that the questionnaires were later to be anonymized (names replaced by a code) and that their teacher was never going to see them, so the participation could not affect their grades. After giving written consent (which almost all of them did), they had 20 minutes to fill out the pre-tests with paper and pencil, sitting well-separated in the classroom to guarantee that the answers would be individual. In cases when they did not understand a question, they raised their hands and I explained it to them. Finally, they were told that I was coming back for a follow-up within a few months.

After that, the teacher was left alone for the rest of the teaching period, during which s/he taught the students according to the Three Step Model and gave them the examination test (plus a re-test two weeks later to those
who had failed the first one). The teacher kept the results of the examination test entirely for him/herself. 10–12 weeks after the examination (a period during which the teacher was instructed to teach as little ethics as possible, at least not to repeat anything to the study groups), I came to visit the students again – unexpectedly to them – and gave them the post-test to fill out as carefully as possible. In case they had forgotten, I told them again about the research project they were a part of.

Conversation with the teacher

Afterwards, a personal conversation was held with the teacher, in which s/he shared a number of details about his/her ethics teaching (and which we documented by filling out a specific form, see Appendix); for example, how closely s/he had followed the instructions, how many sessions the students had been given and how long these had been. S/he was also asked to give information whether there were any students who had been absent to such an extent during the teaching period (more than 50%) that they could not be counted as reliable participants in the study. If so, these students were classified as non-responses – just as those who were reported to have studied philosophy (and thereby ethics from a different source) during the same semester and, of course, those who had not filled out both the pre- and the post-test.

The control condition, Sub-study 1

Initially, the idea was that the same teachers who had been in the intervention condition would also do the teaching in the control condition the following year (if they agreed to). That way, it would have been more likely that possible outcome differences would be due to the “method” and not (solely) the teachers. However, considering the risk that the very knowledge about the Three Step Model would affect their way of teaching ethics even when they were not instructed to follow it, I reckoned that this would not have been a
good idea, since the purpose of the control condition was to represent “regular” ethics teaching (by teachers who did not know what the Three Step Model was about).

It was thus decided that (A) new teachers were to be recruited for the control condition and (B) that a smaller, complementary study (Sub-study 2) was to be made afterwards, in which some of the teachers in the control condition who had just followed the basic teaching guide were also introduced to the Three Step Model and asked to use it in some additional study groups. This way, there would be a part of the study in which the teachers would be the same in both conditions.

The recruitment of teachers for the control condition was very much based on the aim to obtain an equilibrium between the conditions; to make the control students roughly as many as the intervention students, with the same proportion (or disproportion) between students from vocational and higher education preparatory programs in both conditions. Just as in the intervention condition, the teachers who agreed to participate were given an instruction to follow, but this time it was just the basic teaching guide (five items on a piece of paper), which allowed them to teach roughly as they were used to. They were informed that the items were recommendations drawn from research about how ethics should be successfully taught. Other than that, the teachers in the control condition did not receive any more (formal) supervision unless they explicitly asked for it.

In all other aspects, the arrangements were the same as in the intervention condition: the information to the students when the pre-test was given, the instruction to the teacher to teach as little ethics as possible during the 10–12 weeks between the examination and the post-test, the giving of the post-tests and the conversation with the teacher afterwards.

Sub-study 2

When the teachers were recruited to the control condition in Sub-study 1, it was also ensured that at least some of them were interested in starting to teach according to a new kind of instruction (in similar study groups) when they were finished with this one. Thereby I could make sure that there would also be a Sub-study 2, in which some teachers’ results from Sub-study 1 (control
condition) could be compared to the same teachers’ results in a number of new study groups (in which they taught according to the instructions of the intervention condition). Those who finally agreed to teach according to a new kind of instruction received the file folder about the Three Step Model, along with oral supervision twice; everything else was arranged just as the rest in Sub-study 1.

Box 13:
General structure regarding how the sub-studies were conducted

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Meeting the interested teachers and giving instructions to those who agreed to participate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Meeting their students, informing them about the study and giving them the pre-test.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Letting the teachers do their job during the teaching period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Waiting for a period of 10–12 weeks after examination, during which the teachers are instructed to teach as little ethics as possible (i.e. no repetition).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Giving the students post-tests, having a talk with the teacher afterwards.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The assessment

Pre-test

The purpose of the pre-test was to find out which demonstrable knowledge (procedural and declarative) the students had in advance. Did they know what distinguished ethics from other subjects? Would they be able to give an example of an ethical problem, suggest a solution to it and justify it properly? Did they know anything at all about utilitarianism or Kant’s ethics? If they did, it was probable that they had studied ethics as part of a philosophy course not too long ago. If they had (and remembered that they had), it was interesting for me to know as it could make a difference for the results. (Those who were reported to study philosophy during the same semester as the religion course were counted as non-answers, just as those who had been absent during most of the teaching period or had not completed both the pre- and the post-test.) At the beginning of the pre-test, the students were thus asked to either confirm or disconfirm the statement “I have studied ethics/moral philosophy before.”

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When the answers were quantified, I was instructed not to use the figure 0 but instead let incorrect or missing answers be scored with 1 point, in order to make the computational process in the statistics program (SPSS) easier. Accordingly, the minimum point in the pre-test was 5 and the maximum was 15. These were the five questions:

1. Lisa is thinking about what to wear at the party tonight and it is not easy. “Do purple shoes really go together with a black skirt?” she asks herself. Why is this not an ethical problem?

The answer should show that the student knew something about what distinguished right and wrong in ethics from right and wrong in other areas, such as esthetics. And the answer should not be circular (stating something that is already presupposed by the question), such as “this is not about morality.” An incorrect or missing answer was scored 1 point. An answer such as “it does not affect society/other people” or “it does not create any bad consequences” was scored 2 points.

2. Give an example of something that is (or could be) an ethical problem/dilemma!

The answer should show that the student could give an example of an ethical problem (without confusing ethics with, for example, esthetics or etiquette). An answer that did not do so was scored 1 point. An answer that did it very parsimoniously (e.g., “unfaithfulness”) or described a situation without formulating the very problem, such “your friend’s boyfriend has been unfaithful” was scored 2 points. An answer that formulated the problem explicitly, such as: “your friend’s boyfriend has been unfaithful and you do not know if you should tell her or not,” was scored 3 points.

3A: How would you like to solve this problem? B: Why?

This was a question in two parts. The answer should show that the student could suggest a relevant solution (to the problem exemplified) and justify it. An answer that was not a solution to the problem described in the previous answer – questions 2 and 3 were closely tied together – was scored 1 point.
An answer that was a solution but did not entail any (non-circular)\textsuperscript{186} justification, such as “I would tell her because that would be the right thing to do” was scored 2 points. An answer that was a solution and entailed a (non-circular) justification, such as “I would tell her, because it is my duty as a friend” was scored 3 points. An answer that was a solution and entailed a well-developed justification (took more than one aspect into account), such as “I would tell her because it is my duty as a friend and it would also, in the long run, be the best for her” was scored 4 points. (A well-developed justification was scored higher because it indicated that the student had been autonomous in his/her way of solving the problem.)

4. What is Kant’s duty ethics all about?

The answer should show that the student was on the right track when it came to understanding Kant’s duty ethics. An answer that did not do this was scored 1 point. An answer that did but was very general, such as “one should follow one’s duties” was scored 2 points. An answer paraphrasing the categorical imperative “act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will/wish that it should become a universal law” was scored 3 points.

5. What is utilitarianism all about?

The answer should show that the student was on the right track when it came to understanding utilitarianism. An answer that did not do this was scored 1 point. An answer that did but was very general, such as “one should look at the consequences” was scored 2 points. An answer that paraphrased the principle “the greatest happiness for the greatest number” was scored 3 points.

\textsuperscript{186} That a justification is non-circular means that it does not take for granted what it sets out to justify. It gives, so to say, support from without.
Post-test

The purpose of the post-test was (A) to measure how much the students’ *self-assessed* ethical awareness had increased as a result of the ethics teaching and (B) to measure how much their *demonstrable* knowledge about ethics had increased since the pre-test. In other words, two different ways of measuring students’ development was used: one that had the advantage of showing how the students themselves estimated how the teaching had affected them, and one that had the advantage of showing how much they could actually retrieve from their long-term memory, compared to how much they knew from the beginning. As I wanted to have their *spontaneous* responses to the ethics teaching in retrospect, I decided to place the self-assessment first and the assessment of demonstrable knowledge last in the post-test. In both parts, some items were considered more representative than others for what the measure aimed to capture, and were thus investigated separately. In the first part, A, the minimum number of points was 5 and the maximum was 20. It had five statements:

1. After the ethics teaching, I have become better at discovering ethical problems in everyday life.

2. After the ethics teaching, I have become better at finding solutions to the ethical problems I discover.

3. After the ethics teaching, I reflect more upon my behaviour towards others.

4. After the ethics teaching, I have become better at giving arguments for what I consider right or wrong.

5. After the ethics teaching, I have become more interested in ethical issues.

For every statement, the students were given five alternative responses on a Likert-type scale: “Agree totally,” “Agree to a great extent,” “Agree to a small
extent,” “Disagree” and “Cannot answer.” These were scored 4, 3, 2, 1 points, respectively.\textsuperscript{187}

What all statements have in common is that they reflect different ways in which the students could have been affected by the teaching. The two first are very general. If you cannot recognize solutions to ethical problems, you can hardly recognize the problems in the first place, as the recognition of problems implies the recognition of alternative ways of acting. As long as you just “do what you have to,” there is (subjectively) no problem, but as soon as you recognize alternatives, there might be. Unless these abilities have developed a bit, there has been no increase in ethical awareness.

The third is a little bit more specific and may be at the core of what is needed for a person to make a change in his/her behavior: self-insight. If you do not reflect upon your behavior, you cannot change consciously. And if you cannot do that, your interaction with the world will be dependent upon the moral instincts and the degree of flexibility you already have (which may be sufficient in some situations but not in others) and improvement will be difficult. So together with statements 1–2, this was considered the most relevant statement regarding how much the students’ self-assessed ethical awareness had increased; the answers to them were thus assessed separately.

The fourth is also a little more specific. If you cannot give arguments for what you consider right or wrong, your viewpoints on ethical issues will be merely intuitive, which makes a rational ethical discussion (with yourself or someone else) very difficult. Of course, you can still be a “good” person without being able to give arguments, but when encountering a problem that does not lend itself to an easy solution, you will lack an important intellectual tool.

The fifth is perhaps the most general. If you are not interested in ethical issues per se, you may still be able to recognize ethical problems and their solutions, reflect upon your behavior and give arguments for your opinions.

\textsuperscript{187} This is a slightly unconventional way of quantifying answers. Ordinarily, the sequence would have been 4, 3, 2, 1, 0 but this time it was not, as (A) the lowest score was (as explained above) 1 instead of 0, and as (B) the purpose of the questions was to find out which differences in him-/herself the student had actually noticed (and wanted to report on). And if s/he could not (or did not want to) answer the question, it was considered worth just as much as the qualitatively different answer “disagree,” as it gave the same amount of positive information. (In reality, however, only a small minority of the students gave a “cannot answer” response to any of the statements.)
But your motivation to make use of and *develop* these abilities will probably be limited; therefore, an interest in ethics is vital as well.

The second part of the post-test, B, was a repetition of the questions from the pre-test. Of these, questions 2 and 3 (about giving an example of an ethical problem, solving it and justifying the solution) were considered the most relevant as they assessed the development of not just declarative but also *procedural* knowledge (i.e. skills for ethical problem-solving). The answers to them were thus assessed separately.

**Quantification and statistical analysis**

The first step was to quantify all the answers, i.e. assign points to every part of the assessment (including the score of development from pre-test to post-test part B) for every student. When I did this the answers had been anonymized on the individual level, but I knew when I was quantifying the answers of the intervention and the control condition, respectively. After it was done, my main supervisor checked 10% of the quantified answers randomly and discussed with me when something was unclear. In nine out of ten cases, we agreed about the scores from the beginning.

The second step was to enter all the data (variables such as gender, study orientation, teaching condition, teacher and score in each part of the assessment for every student) into the statistics program; a process in which my supervisors gave me a good deal of support. The third step was to calculate the differences between the intervention and control conditions, vocational and higher education preparatory programs and male and female students, in each part of the assessment. To make the statistics as simple as possible I decided to stick to the differences on an aggregate level; this calculation was done by running an independent samples t-test on the data.

But since the data were not normally distributed (which in a t-test can give a false impression of statistical significance), I was advised by a statistician to also run a Mann-Whitney U-test on the data (a non-parametric test in which the *median* score is calculated instead of the mean). This I did, just to discover that the results in terms of significant differences were the same as when we ran the t-test. The statistician thus advised me to stick to the original analysis, and another colleague with knowledge in statistics made some additional operations (analysis of the variance) for me. This way we could all together make
sure that everything in the process was handled correctly, with at least no
*intentional* bias towards the intervention condition.

**Box 11:**
The two measures of development used in this study. (NB: the designations A and B only refer to the
order in which they appeared in the post-test, not to their degree of importance.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure A</th>
<th>Measure B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measure A was the score in the first part of the post-test (self-assessment). Statements 1–2: “After the ethics teaching, I have become better at recognizing ethical problems in everyday life/finding solutions to the problems I discover” and 3: “After the ethics teaching, I reflect more upon my behavior towards others” were considered the most relevant (for what the measure aimed to capture) and were thus assessed separately.</td>
<td>Measure B was the increase in points from pre-test to the second part of the post-test (development of demonstrable knowledge). Questions 2–3: “Give an example of something that is/could be an ethical problem/dilemma” and “How would you like to solve this problem? Why?” were considered the most relevant (for what the measure aimed to capture) and were thus assessed separately.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Results

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of Sub-study 1 and 2, together with some of the most important characteristics, are presented. This includes the results in all parts of the assessment and the development from pre- to post-test, across three comparisons: between the teaching conditions, study orientations and genders. Thereby, it will hopefully provide the reader with a comprehensible basis for the discussion in Chapter 7.

Sub-study 1: An overview

In all, 456 students participated in Sub-study 1. Of them, 244 were in the intervention condition (when 181 non-answers had been excluded\(^{188}\)) and 212 in the control condition (when 165 non-answers had been excluded). 190 came from vocational programs (when 174 non-answers had been excluded) and 266 from higher education preparatory programs (when 172 non-answers had been excluded). 252 were male and 204 female. Most of them were in grade three but some of them were in grade two.

\(^{188}\) A pre-test without a post-test (or vice versa) or no test at all despite being in the study group, was the most common reason for something being counted as a non-answer. But answers from students whom (according to their teachers) had participated less than 50% during the teaching period or students whom (according to their teachers) had studied philosophy the same semester were counted as non-answers as well.
The primary purpose was to find out if there were any significant differences in results between the intervention condition (whose teachers were instructed to follow the Three Step Model) and the control condition (whose teachers were instructed to follow the basic teaching guide). As the teaching method used in the intervention condition was based on research about how a specific long-term result could be achieved, the hypothesis was that the intervention students would score significantly higher in both measures A (the self-assessment) and B (development of demonstrable knowledge). The secondary purpose was to find out if there were any significant differences in results between vocational and higher education preparatory programs and between male and female students (irrespective of which teaching conditions they were in). As research has indicated that higher achieving students and females should have an advantage, the hypotheses were that students from higher education preparatory programs and females respectively would score significantly higher in both measures A and B.

The results of the comparisons are presented in the following section. Initially, however, we take a look at the 15 teachers in Sub-study 1, how many students they had and how they responded afterwards when they were asked to take a stand with regard to the statement “When I taught, I followed the instructions to the letter.” (Just like the students, they were presented with five alternative responses on a Likert-type scale: “Agree totally,” “Agree to a great extent,” “Agree to a small extent,” “Disagree” and “Cannot answer.”) How they responded to this is an indicator of the internal validity of the study, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.


As we can see, one of the teachers in the intervention condition responded “agree totally” whereas six of them responded “agree to a great extent.” Of the teachers in the control condition, six responded “agree totally” whereas two responded “agree to a great extent.” None of them responded “agree to a small extent” or “disagree.” In other words, the teachers in both conditions reported a relatively high adherence to the instructions, while those in the control condition reported a higher adherence.
The intervention vs. the control condition

Characteristics

We now come to the comparison between the intervention and the control conditions. As a background to the results, we should take a look at some of the most important characteristics: the student distribution in each teaching condition, how many percent reported having studied ethics before and the amount of time that the teachers (in the conversation afterwards) reported having used for ethics teaching.

Table 2:
Distribution of students in each condition with regard to study orientation and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching condition</th>
<th>Study orientation</th>
<th>Genders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>41% vocational pr.</td>
<td>56% male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>44% female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>42% vocational pr.</td>
<td>54% male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>46% female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3:
Percentage of students in each condition who reported previous ethics studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching condition</th>
<th>Reported previous ethics studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4:
Average time in total and average number of sessions per week used for ethics teaching, reported afterwards by the teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching condition</th>
<th>Teaching time on average</th>
<th>Sessions per week on average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>510 minutes</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>556 minutes</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see, the distribution of programs and gender were approximately the same between the two conditions, with some over-representation of study-preparatory programs and males within both. The percentage who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the control condition than in the intervention condition. With regard to teaching hours, the teachers in the control condition reported having used a bit more time than those in the intervention condition, but their average number of sessions per week was smaller (i.e., their teaching hours were more scattered).

Results

Table 9:
Differences between the two teaching conditions (in which the teachers followed the Three Step Model and the basic teaching guide, respectively) in Sub-study 1 regarding their mean scores in different parts of the assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of assessment</th>
<th>Intervention condition (n = 244)</th>
<th>Control condition (n = 212)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.85 (Std. dev. = 1.50)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.70 (Std. dev. = 1.87)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test in total</td>
<td>Mean = 6.18 (Std. dev. = 1.87)</td>
<td>Mean = 7.31 (Std. dev. = 2.60)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 1–2</td>
<td>Mean = 4.49 (Std. dev. = 1.48)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.37 (Std. dev. = 1.59)</td>
<td>P &lt; .412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.05 (Std. dev. = .92)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.19 (Std. dev. = .94)</td>
<td>P &lt; .122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A in total (measure A)</td>
<td>Mean = 10.40 (Std. dev. = 3.17)</td>
<td>Mean = 11.08 (Std. dev. = 3.17)</td>
<td>P &lt; .032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 5.05 (Std. dev. = 1.73)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.32 (Std. dev. = 1.81)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B in total</td>
<td>Mean = 10.04 (Std. dev. = 2.85)</td>
<td>Mean = 8.92 (Std. dev. = 2.78)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The control group scored significantly higher191 than the intervention group, both in the pre-test, item 2–3 (P < .000)192 and in the pre-test in total (P

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191 When the P-value is .05 or less, a difference is considered to be statically significant.

192 As the questions 2–3 in the pre-test were closely linked together, they were viewed as one item. The same was the case with the statements 1–2 in the post-test part A and the questions 2–3 in the post-test part B.
<.000). There were no significant differences between the conditions in post-test part A, items 1–2 and 3, but the control group scored significantly higher in post-test part A in total (P < .032). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher in measure A (self-assessment) was not confirmed. However, the intervention group scored significantly higher than the control group, both in post-test part B item 2–3 (P < .000) and in post-test part B in total (P < .000).

Development from pre- to post-test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Intervention condition (n = 244)</th>
<th>Control condition (n = 212)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.20 (Std. dev. = 1.87)</td>
<td>Mean = .63 (Std. dev. = 1.82)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B in total (measure B)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.86 (Std. dev. = 2.48)</td>
<td>Mean = 1.60 (Std. dev. = 2.33)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though both groups developed from pre-test to post-test part B, this development was significantly stronger in the intervention group than in the control group, both in items 2–3 (P < .000) and in total (P < .000). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher in measure B (development of demonstrable knowledge) was confirmed.193

193 An analysis of the variance (performed by Eva Davidsson) showed that among students from both vocational and higher education preparatory programs, and among both males and females, the control students scored significantly higher in measure A and the intervention students scored significantly higher in measure B. In other words, this difference between the teaching conditions was a general tendency in Sub-study 1.
Vocational vs. higher education preparatory programs

Characteristics

Table 7:
Distribution of students with regard to teaching conditions and gender in each study orientation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study orientation</th>
<th>Teaching conditions</th>
<th>Genders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational pr.</td>
<td>53% intervention</td>
<td>61% male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47% control</td>
<td>39% female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>54% intervention</td>
<td>51% male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46% control</td>
<td>49% female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8:
Percentage of students in each study orientation who reported previous ethics studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study orientation</th>
<th>Reported previous ethics studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational pr.</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9:
Average time in total and average number of sessions per week used for ethics teaching, reported afterwards by the teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study orientation</th>
<th>Teaching time on average</th>
<th>Sessions per week on average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational pr.</td>
<td>548 minutes</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>517 minutes</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the distribution of intervention and control students was approximately the same in the two study orientations, with some over-representation of intervention students within both. The over-representation of males was larger in the vocational programs than in the higher education preparatory programs. The percentage who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the higher education preparatory programs. With regard to teaching hours, the teachers in the vocational programs reported having used a bit more time than those in the higher education preparatory programs, but their average number of sessions per week was smaller (i.e., their teaching hours were more scattered).
Results

Table 10:
Differences between the two study orientations in Sub-study 1 regarding their mean scores in different parts of the assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of assessment</th>
<th>Vocational programs (n = 190)</th>
<th>Higher ed. preparatory programs (n = 266)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.44 (Std. dev. = 1.10)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.82 (Std. dev. = 1.88)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test in total</td>
<td>Mean = 5.56 (Std. dev. = 1.26)</td>
<td>Mean = 7.52 (Std. dev. = 2.53)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 1–2</td>
<td>Mean = 4.24 (Std. dev. = 1.53)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.58 (Std. dev. = 1.52)</td>
<td>P &lt; .020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.12 (Std. dev. = 1.00)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.12 (Std. dev. = 0.88)</td>
<td>P &gt; .993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A in total</td>
<td>Mean = 10.13 (Std. dev. = 3.33)</td>
<td>Mean = 11.14 (Std. dev. = 3.27)</td>
<td>P &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 3.84 (Std. dev. = 1.86)</td>
<td>Mean = 5.33 (Std. dev. = 1.49)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B in total</td>
<td>Mean = 7.73 (Std. dev. = 2.52)</td>
<td>Mean = 10.80 (Std. dev. = 2.38)</td>
<td>P &lt; .000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The students in the higher education preparatory programs scored significantly higher than the ones in vocational programs across all parts of the assessment (except in post-test part A item 3, where there was no difference between them). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that students from the higher education preparatory programs would score significantly higher in measure A was confirmed.
Development from pre- to post-test

Table 11.
Differences between the two study orientations in Sub-study 1 regarding mean development from pre-test to post-test part B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Vocational programs (n = 190)</th>
<th>Higher ed. preparatory programs (n = 266)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B, items 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 1.42 (Std. dev. = 1.93)</td>
<td>Mean = 1.51 (Std. dev. = 2.06)</td>
<td>P &lt;.624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B in total (measure B)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.16 (Std. dev. = 2.51)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.27 (Std. dev. = 2.67)</td>
<td>P &lt;.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The students in both orientations developed from pre-test to post-test part B and there was no significant difference between the orientations in item 2–3. In total, however, there was a significantly stronger development in the higher education preparatory programs (P <.000). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the students from the higher education preparatory programs would score significantly higher in measure B was confirmed.

Male vs. female students

Characteristics

Table 12.
Distribution of students, with regard to teaching conditions and study orientation, in each gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Teaching conditions</th>
<th>Study orientations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>54% intervention 46% control</td>
<td>46% vocational pr. 54% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>52% intervention 48% control</td>
<td>36 % vocational pr. 64% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the distribution of intervention and control students was approximately the same for the two genders, with some over-representation of
intervention students within both. The over-representation of higher education preparatory students (which was the case in both genders) was larger among the females than the males.

Results

Table 13.
Differences between the genders in Sub-study 1 regarding their mean scores in different parts of the assessment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of assessment</th>
<th>Male students (n = 252)</th>
<th>Female students (n = 204)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 3.23 (Std. dev. = 1.71)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.26 (Std. dev. = 1.77)</td>
<td>P &lt; .871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test in total</td>
<td>Mean = 6.62 (Std. dev. = 2.49)</td>
<td>Mean = 6.80 (Std. dev. = 2.49)</td>
<td>P &lt; .404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 1–2</td>
<td>Mean = 4.32 (Std. dev. = 1.55)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.58 (Std. dev. = 1.50)</td>
<td>P &lt; .065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.00 (Std. dev. = .91)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.25 (Std. dev. = .93)</td>
<td>P &lt; .004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A in total</td>
<td>Mean = 10.28 (Std. dev. = 3.26)</td>
<td>Mean = 11.25 (Std. dev. = 3.33)</td>
<td>P &lt; .002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 4.52 (Std. dev. = 1.80)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.94 (Std. dev. = 1.79)</td>
<td>P &lt; .015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B in total</td>
<td>M = 9.17 (Std. dev. = 2.76)</td>
<td>M = 9.94 (Std. dev. = 2.95)</td>
<td>P &lt; .004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no significant difference between the genders in the pre-test item 2–3, in the pre-test in total or in the post-test part A item 1–2. In the post-test part A item 3, however, the females scored significantly higher (P < .004), just as in post-test part A in total (P < .002). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the females would score significantly higher than the males in measure A was confirmed. Also, in post-test part B item 2–3 the females scored significantly higher (P < .015), just as in the post-test part B in total (P < .004)
Development from pre- to post-test

Table 14.
Differences between the two genders in Sub-study 1 regarding mean development from pre-test to post-test part B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Male students (n = 252)</th>
<th>Female students (n = 204)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 1.28 (Std. dev. = 1.99)</td>
<td>Mean = 1.71 (Std. dev. = 2.01)</td>
<td>$P &lt; .025$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B in total (measure B)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.55 (Std. dev. = 2.48)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.13 (Std. dev. = 2.84)</td>
<td>$P &lt; .019$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though both genders developed from pre-test to post-test part B, the development of the female students was significantly stronger, both in item 2–3 ($P < .025$) and in total ($P < .019$). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the female students would score significantly higher than male ones in measure B was confirmed.

Sub-study 2

An overview

In all, 123 students participated in the complementary Sub-study 2. Of them, 68 were in the intervention condition (when 50 non-answers had been excluded) and 55 in the control condition (when 39 non-answers had been excluded). All of them were in grade three. Its purpose was to find out if the strength ratio between the intervention and the control conditions in Sub-study 1 would persist if the teachers in both conditions would be the same (which they were not in Sub-study 1).

Three of the teachers who used the basic teaching guide in Sub-study 1 (control condition) were thus, in Sub-study 2, instructed to use the Three Step Model in some additional study groups (intervention condition). All of them taught students from either vocational or higher education preparatory programs, which helped making the difference between the compared study groups as small as possible. The hypothesis, just like in Sub-study 1, was that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher in
both measures A (the self-assessment) and B (development of demonstrable knowledge).

**Table 15.**
The teachers in Sub-study 2, their number of students and the degree to which the teachers reported having followed the instructions “to the letter” in each teaching condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher and number of students</th>
<th>Followed instructions “to the letter” in intervention condition</th>
<th>Followed instructions “to the letter” in control condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T8: 24</td>
<td>Agree to a great extent</td>
<td>Agree to a great extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9: 55</td>
<td>Agree totally</td>
<td>Agree to a great extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T14: 44</td>
<td>Agree totally</td>
<td>Agree totally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, all teachers responded either “agree totally” or “agree to a great extent” to the statement “When I taught, I followed the instructions to the letter.” None of them responded “agree to a small extent” or “disagree” in either one of the conditions. In other words, adherence to the instructions was reported to be relatively high in both of them, but, as we also see, it was higher in the intervention condition.

**Characteristics**

**Table 16.**
Distribution of students in each study condition with regard to study orientation and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study condition</th>
<th>Study orientation</th>
<th>Genders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>69% vocational pr. 31% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>47% male 53% female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>58% vocational pr. 42% higher ed. preparatory pr.</td>
<td>42% male 58% female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 17.**
Percentage of students in each study condition who reported previous ethics studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study condition</th>
<th>Reported previous ethics studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see, the over-representation of students from vocational programs (which was the case in both conditions) was larger in the intervention condition, and the over-representation of females (which was the case in both conditions) was larger in the control condition. The percentage who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the intervention condition. With regard to teaching hours, the teachers in the control condition reported having used a bit more time than those in the intervention condition, but their average number of sessions per week was the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching condition</th>
<th>Teaching time on average</th>
<th>Sessions per week on average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>521 minutes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>540 minutes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results

Table 19:

Differences between the two teaching conditions (in which the teachers followed the Three Step Model and the basic teaching guide, respectively) in Sub-study 2 regarding their mean scores in different parts of the assessment.\textsuperscript{194}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of assessment</th>
<th>Intervention condition (n = 68)</th>
<th>Control condition (n = 55)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.92 (Std. dev. = 1.43)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.89 (Std. dev. = 1.54)</td>
<td>P &lt;.895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-test in total</td>
<td>Mean = 6.22 (Std. dev. = 1.73)</td>
<td>M = 6.09 (Std. dev. = 1.81)</td>
<td>P &lt;.687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 1–2</td>
<td>Mean = 4.45 (Std. dev. = 1.36)</td>
<td>Mean = 4.49 (Std. dev. = 1.66)</td>
<td>P &lt;.898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A, item 3</td>
<td>Mean = 2.13 (Std. dev. .89)</td>
<td>Mean = 2.20 (Std. dev. .98)</td>
<td>P &lt;.692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part A in total (measure A)</td>
<td>Mean = 10.47 (Std. dev. = 2.98)</td>
<td>Mean =10.80 (Std. dev. = 3.62)</td>
<td>P &lt;.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean =4.63 (Std. dev. = 1.76)</td>
<td>Mean =3.83 (Std. dev. = 1.86)</td>
<td>P &lt;.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-test part B in total</td>
<td>Mean = 9.54 (Std. dev. = 2.97)</td>
<td>Mean = 7.81 (Std. dev. = 2.71)</td>
<td>P &lt;.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no significant differences between the intervention and the control groups in either the pre-test in total, the post-test part A in total or their separate items. This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher in measure A was not confirmed. In the post-test part B, however, the intervention group scored significantly higher in both item 2–3 (P <.017) and in total (P <.001).

\textsuperscript{194} The number of participants in Sub-study 2 (123) were not even a third of the participants in Sub-study 1 (456), which means that numerical differences had to be much larger in Sub-study 2 to be significant. This must be kept in mind when the results of the two sub-studies are compared.
Development from pre- to post-test

Table 20

Differences between the two teaching conditions (in which the teachers followed the Three Step Model and the basic teaching guide, respectively) in Sub-study 2 regarding mean development from pre-test to post-test part B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Intervention condition (n = 68)</th>
<th>Control condition (n = 55)</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B, item 2–3</td>
<td>Mean = 1.66 (Std. dev. 2.06)</td>
<td>Mean = .94 (Std. dev. =1.77)</td>
<td>P &lt;.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From pre-test to post-test part B in total (measure B)</td>
<td>Mean = 3.32 (Std. dev. = 2.94)</td>
<td>Mean = 1.72 (Std. dev. = 2.26)</td>
<td>P &lt;.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though both groups developed from pre- to post-test part B, the development was significantly stronger in the intervention group, both in item 2–3 (P <.044) and in total (P <.001). This means that the part of the hypothesis saying that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher in measure B was confirmed.\(^{195}\)

Summary

Sub-study 1

The most important hypothesis in Sub-study 1 was that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher than the ones in the control condition in both measures A and B. This hypothesis was only partly confirmed as, on the contrary, the students in the control condition scored

\(^{195}\) If we then look individually at the three teachers, we see in the case of T8 that there were no significant differences between the two conditions, but there were numerical differences: the control group scored higher in measure A and the intervention group scored higher in measure B. In the case of T9, we see that the control group scored numerically higher in measure A but that the intervention group scored significantly higher in measure B. And in the case of T14, we see that the intervention group scored numerically higher in measure A and significantly higher in measure B. So, in all three cases, the intervention group scored higher in measure B, at least numerically.
significantly higher in measure A (even though there was no significant difference between the conditions in the items that were assessed separately). The students in the intervention condition, however, scored significantly higher in measure B (including the item that was assessed separately).

A second hypothesis was that students from higher education preparatory programs would score significantly higher than those from vocational programs in both measures A and B. This hypothesis was confirmed both in measure A (even though in one of the items that were assessed separately, there was no difference between the orientations) and in measure B (even though in the item that was assessed separately, there was no significant difference between the orientations). A third hypothesis was that female students would score significantly higher than male students in both measures A and B. This hypothesis was confirmed both in measure A (even though in one of the items that were assessed separately, there was no significant difference between the genders) and in measure B (including the item that was assessed separately).

Sub-study 2

The hypothesis in Sub-study 2 was that the students in the intervention condition would score significantly higher than the ones in the control condition in both measures A and B. This hypothesis was only partly confirmed as there was no significant difference between the conditions in measure A (including the items that were assessed separately). In measure B, however (including the item that was assessed separately), the students in the intervention condition scored significantly higher than the ones in the control condition.
7. DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter has three main purposes. The first is to discuss possible reasons behind the results in the comparison between the intervention and control conditions, as well as between vocational and higher education preparatory programs and male and female students, and arrive at a tentative conclusion regarding which “method” for ethics teaching appears to be the most effective. The second is to perform a closer examination of my research methodology with regard to internal and external validity and clarify the lessons for future research. The third is to account for the ethical considerations that have been made during the course of the study, with the aim to treat all the participating teachers and students as responsibly and ethically as possible.

The comparison between the teaching conditions

The most important comparison in this study was the one between the intervention condition, whose teachers were instructed to use the Three Step Model, and the control condition, whose teachers were instructed to teach as usually but with some added guidelines. Since (A) the degree of moral autonomy in both Piaget’s and (the later) Kohlberg’s theories was assumed to be
the best predictor of how people would actually behave in a morally problematic situation and (B) the Three Step Model was based upon research on how moral autonomy could be increased in a lasting way by means of just some instructions and training, it was hypothesized that the Three Step Model would have a greater capacity than regular ethics teaching to influence the students in a way that would make a difference with regard to their moral decisions in real life. The fact that the method had a repetitive structure, in which the students gradually learned how to solve (real and personal) ethical problems autonomously, was supposed to make it even more likely that its effects would be strong and clear.

But despite these differences in relation to regular practice, which should all be beneficial for the long-term effectiveness, the hypothesis could only be confirmed by measure B (development of demonstrable knowledge), but not by measure A (self-assessed ethical awareness). It appears, in other words, that the students in the intervention condition learned more, but that they did not experience a stronger development. In the following, I discuss the possible reasons behind this discrepancy.

The advantage of the intervention condition in measure B

The part of the hypothesis saying that the intervention students would score significantly higher than the control students in measure B, was confirmed in both sub-studies. In Sub-study 1 we saw this tendency among both males and females and among both vocational and higher education preparatory students. In Sub study 2, in which the results of the teachers were also assessed individually, we saw this tendency in all three cases. (This suggests that even though it always makes a difference who the teacher is, it does not appear to have been the key variable this time.) If we look at the item in measure B that was assessed separately: “Give an example of something that is (or could be) an ethical problem/dilemma!” and “How would you like to solve

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this problem? Why?” (2–3), we also see that the development of the intervention students was significantly stronger in both sub studies.\textsuperscript{197} What could be the reasons for this? Let us see if we find any obvious clues.

\textbf{Clues in the background information}

In the background information to the comparison in Sub-study 1, we see that the distribution of students from the two study orientations and genders were approximately the same in the two teaching conditions. The percentage who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the control condition, which corresponded well with the observation that the control students scored significantly higher in the pre-test, but it does not help us understand the advantage of the intervention students. With regard to teaching hours, we see that the teachers in the control condition reported having used a bit more time for teaching, but that it was more scattered (it is hard to tell what difference this could have made, as scattered teaching hours can be both good and bad for long-term retention). So, in the background information to Sub-study 1 there are no obvious clues to the advantage of the intervention students.

If we go to the student distribution in Sub-study 2, we see that the over-representation of students from vocational programs (which was the case in both teaching conditions) was larger in the intervention condition and that the over-representation of females (which was the case in both teaching conditions) was larger in the control condition. This does not help us understand the advantage of the intervention students. The percentage who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the intervention condition; in the pre-test, however, there was no significant difference between the teaching conditions, which means that pre-existing knowledge is not the explanation. With regard to teaching hours, the teachers in the control condition reported having used a bit more time than those in the intervention condition, but

\textsuperscript{197} The other questions were: “Lisa is thinking about what to wear at the party tonight, and it is not easy. ‘Do purple shoes really go together with a black skirt?’ she asks herself. Why is this not an ethical problem?” (1), “What is Kant’s duty ethics all about?” (4) and “What is utilitarianism all about?” (5).
their average number of sessions per week was the same. So, in the background information to Sub-study 2 there are no obvious clues to the advantage of the intervention students either.

How the teaching was planned and presented

Does this mean that the stronger development in the intervention condition was caused by the ways in which the teaching was planned and presented? Not necessarily as there are still variables beyond our control (such as the general level of academic achievement among the intervention and control students respectively), but due to what we do know, it is very likely that it was to some degree. Then the question is what made the difference.

In the teaching method used in the intervention condition, the Three Step Model, primarily the two first steps were intended to increase the students’ ethical awareness. In the first step by letting the students derive an ethical problem from a hypothetical situation where no problem was yet formulated. In the second step by training the students in autonomous problem-solving, first by letting them work with hypothetical problems, then with real and personal ones they would come up with themselves. So, without knowing what an ethical problem is, being able to solve it properly and justify the solution, they could not complete the exercises in the Three Step Model nor pass the examination test. This is probably part of the explanation for the advantage of the intervention students: the teaching method required them to acquire the procedural knowledge that was assessed by the post-test. If so, the results in measure B support the general tendency that Antes et al. and Waples et al. detected in their meta-analyses regarding the effectiveness of ethics instruction at university level: the strongest effects are achieved when one directly exercises the students’ cognitive skills for ethical reasoning/problem-solving.198 Even more directly, they support Kavathatzopoulos’ discovery that training in autonomous problem-solving can make a long-term difference with regard to how an individual approaches a moral problem.199

In addition to this, there is a factor that probably made the effects even stronger: the recurring element of repetition in the Three Step Model. It was repeated over and over again, using different examples, what an ethical problem is and how it could be solved properly. The repetition was carried out by the students themselves when they were doing the exercises, in which they had to retrieve the memories they had previously encoded (for example when they gave their own examples of ethical problems in 2B). This may have generated the same kind of long-term effects we know that testing and re-testing may do, especially in combination with the examination test at the end, where all the steps were repeated again. So, it is likely that the repetition contributed to the result as well.

By contrast, it is unlikely that the students in the control condition ever repeated the different aspects of ethical problem-solving to this extent, as their teachers were not instructed to do this with them. Nor did any of the teachers I talked to in the earliest phase of the study (Chapter 3) report that they used repetition this way, or asked the students to write about their real and personal moral problems, or structured their teaching into anything similar to the Three Step Model.201

The advantage of the control condition in measure A

In contrast to the results in measure B, the part of the hypothesis saying that the intervention students would score significantly higher than the control

200 More than 100 years of research has shown that repeated testing on the same material enhances learning and long-term retention; it is significantly more effective than restudying. The more tests on the same material and the longer the intervals between the tests, the better it will be retained in memory (ideally the intervals in a test series should be longer and longer). Also, it appears that testing that requires more generative responses (e.g., recall or short answers) is more effective than testing that requires less generative responses (e.g., ticking of boxes). (Dunlosky et al., 2013, p. 29 f.) A Swedish researcher who has studied the testing effect clinically is Wiklund-Hörnqvist (2014, p. VIII). Using fMRI to analyze patterns of brain activity, she and her colleagues could support the claim that test-based learning is characterized by semantic elaboration initially during learning, which strengthens the semantic representation in the brain and enables a successful retrieval a week later.

201 And according to what they told me afterwards, they did not have to change much in their regular ways of teaching when they followed the basic teaching guide either.
students in measure A was not confirmed in any of the two sub-studies. On the contrary: the control students scored higher in both of them (though the difference was just significant in Sub-study 1). If we look at the items that were assessed separately: “After the ethics teaching, I have become better at discovering ethical problems in everyday life/finding solutions to the ethical problems I discover” (1–2) and “After the ethics teaching, I reflect more upon my behavior towards others” (3), we see no significant differences between the two teaching conditions in Sub-study 1. This indicates that the difference between the teaching conditions was rather generated by the items that were not assessed separately.\(^{202}\) In the corresponding items in Sub-study 2 there were no significant differences between the two teaching conditions but a numerical tendency in favor of the control condition. So, if any of the conditions scored higher in self-assessed ethical awareness, it was the control condition.

**Clues in the background information**

How could this be understood? If we look at the background information to the comparison in Sub-study 1, we again see that the percentage of students who reported having studied ethics before was larger in the control condition, which corresponded well with the observation that the control students scored significantly higher in the pre-test. This could perhaps give us a clue to the results (the control students had a bit more pre-existing knowledge, perhaps since they were more interested in ethics, which made them rate the impact of the teaching higher afterwards). But as there was no such tendency in Sub-study 2, in which the intervention students scored slightly higher in the pre-test, it would only help us explain the results in Sub-study 1.

If we look at the student distribution in Sub-study 2, we see that the over-representation of students from vocational programs (which was the case in both conditions) was larger in the intervention condition and that the over-representation of females (which was the case in both conditions) was larger in the control condition. This could perhaps give us a clue to the advantage

\(^{202}\) These were ”After the ethics teaching, I have become better at giving arguments for what I consider right or wrong” (4) and ”After the ethics teaching, I have become more interested in ethical issues” (5).
of the control condition, as a larger over-representation of females (who scored generally higher than the males) should be better than a larger over-representation of vocational students (who scored generally lower than the higher education preparatory students). But again, as there was no such tendency in Sub-study 1, in which the gender distribution was the same, it would only help us explain the results in Sub-study 2.

So the question remains: why did the students in the intervention condition score lower in *self-assessed* ethical awareness when, at the same time, they appeared to have developed more in terms of demonstrable knowledge? In the study by Niederjohn et al., we saw something similar: the intervention students’ ethical attitudes and values did not change despite the observation that they increased in theoretical knowledge (for example, regarding the difference between rational self-interest and greed).203 In the study by de Haan et al., we saw that none of the successful groups increased in moral emotion, despite the fact that they increased in moral reasoning and (potential) action.204 In Mortier, it was discovered that religious people scored lower in formal moral reasoning despite the fact that they generally displayed a greater generosity towards the poor.205 And in Blatt & Kohlberg, it was a disturbing result that the students, for some reason, became more prone to cheat on a test when they developed in moral reasoning.206 What all these studies exemplify is that the degree of morality according to one way of assessing it does not regularly correlate with the degree of morality according to another way of assessing it.

This is what we actually see in this study. How should this be interpreted? Could it be that there is no positive correlation between the two aspects of development, or even a negative one: the more you learn in terms of demonstrable knowledge, the less you tend to experience that you have developed? I find this explanation to be quite unlikely for the following reasons: in the comparisons between males and females, and between students from vocational and higher education preparatory programs (irrespective of which teaching condition they were in), there was no such discrepancy between the

203 Niederjohn et al. (2009), p. 78.
204 de Haan et al. (1997), p. 5 f.
205 Mortier (1999), 409 f.
measures. Females and higher education preparatory students scored significantly higher in both measures A and B, which indicates that there was rather something specific, having to do with the comparison between the two teaching conditions, that caused the discrepancy.

**How the teaching was planned and presented**

Could it be that learning based on repetition and many exercises – successful as it could be – also has a potential downside as it tends to make the students less interested, sometimes even bored? This could especially be the case with students who are not used to work this way (in other subjects than, for example, mathematics). Through a couple of comments from the teachers it was revealed that some students in the intervention condition (in which the Three Step Model was used) felt that there were too many exercises. This may have been a reason why they, retrospectively, rated the impact of the teaching as lower compared to the students in the control condition: they did not remember it as very stimulating or emotionally engaging because it was demanding. If this is the reason for the discrepancy between the measures, it corresponds well with current research suggesting that it is not when the students are having “fun” in school that they learn the most but that, on the contrary, they tend to learn the most when they do things that are not primarily “fun” (and I am now focusing on the actual learning, not the motivation to study a subject in the first place).207

Likewise, it could be that it is difficult for a teacher to, suddenly, start following a very detailed set of guidelines without losing some of the vitality

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207 This is a general conclusion drawn by Heller-Sahlgren & Sanandaji (2019, p. 139 f.) They based it on (A) a study in which the students reported digitally (in real time) their degree of happiness, which was the lowest when they were doing traditional schoolwork and the highest when they were engaged in activities not having to do with school at all, in combination with (B) research showing that more time in school, more time for teaching, homework and final tests make the students achieve better academically. Also, they based it on the PISA-test from 2012, in which there was a positive correlation between how happy the students answered that they were and how common “progressive” or student-oriented teaching methods were in their respective countries, but a negative correlation between how common these teaching methods were in a certain country and how well the students from the country achieved on average in the PISA-test. They concluded that there was a conflict between the goals that students should be as happy as possible in school and, at the same time, acquire a maximum of knowledge.
that comes with a more “spontaneous” way of presenting the material; a pre-
dicament that some teachers in the intervention condition may have found
themselves in. This could also have affected the students’ impressions of the
teaching. To some extent, The Three Step Model leaves room for the teachers
to do things as they prefer (for instance, they can give some personally chosen
examples of ethical problems), but first and foremost it requires them to fol-
low the structure and make the students do all the exercise types. This may
have posed an obstacle to creativity for some teachers, especially if they had
not given themselves time to integrate the method with their own ways of
thinking, so that they could follow it without becoming “slaves” under it or
doing things mechanically. The very detailed set of guidelines also implied
not having the same freedom to adjust the teaching to each individual study
group and use exercises that they knew by experience would be well-received
by the students. So, a lack of vitality could be the reason as well, if the lower
score in the self-assessment was caused by the students in the intervention
condition finding the teaching less emotionally engaging.

The comparison between study orientations and genders

The advantage of education preparatory programs and females

As we have seen, the hypotheses saying that that higher education preparatory
students would score significantly higher than vocational ones and that fe-
males would score significantly higher than males – both derived from re-
search we take a look at later in this chapter – was confirmed in both measures
A and B. Moreover, the advantage of higher education preparatory students
and females was evident across virtually all parts of the assessment, and the
difference was in most cases significant.

What could be the reasons?

If we look at the background information, we see some factors that could
account for the advantage of the higher education preparatory students and
females, separately and together. It appears that the vocational students were given a bit more of scheduled time for teaching, but that it was more scattered (though, again, it is hard to tell what difference this could have made).

With regard to previous ethics studies, we see that a slightly larger percentage of the higher education preparatory students reported having studied ethics before, compared to the vocational ones. And not surprisingly the higher education preparatory students also scored significantly higher in the pre-test (most vocational students did not even know, in the pre-test, what an ethical problem was). In other words, more pre-existing knowledge could be part of the explanation though we do not know what is behind the figures. (In both study orientations, less than 15% of all students reported having studied ethics before, which is remarkable when everyone at least must have studied it as part of the religious education in compulsory school.) Those who answered “yes” could have done it for a number of reasons, but in the case of the higher education preparatory programs, it may in some cases have been that they studied it as part of a philosophy course a semester or a year earlier. If so, this could explain some of their advantage in the pre-test and the rest of the assessment. However, as there was no significant difference between males and females in the pre-test the general impact of pre-existing knowledge in ethics remains unknown.

But if we look at the distribution of the two genders within the study orientations, we see that the higher education preparatory programs had a larger representation of females than the vocational programs, and the females – as we know – developed more. This implies that the difference between the genders, to some degree, could account for the difference between the study orientations as well. It would be thus be interesting to understand the possible reasons behind this.

**Females and ethics**

As we have seen, the differences between male and female morality have been discussed thoroughly in the research literature. According to a theory by Gilligan, male morality is more oriented towards rights and rules, whereas female
morality is more oriented towards compassion and care.\(^{208}\) Opposed to this, a meta-analysis has shown that it is far from clear that women’s morality is more care-oriented,\(^{209}\) so even if Gilligan should have a point, her theory has not lent itself to rigorous proof. However, what has been shown by meta-analytic research is that women appear to have a greater general sensitivity for ethical issues than men (which according to Rest is one of the four components determining moral behavior\(^{210}\)).

In an analysis from 1998, Borkowski & Ugras studied the relationships between gender and the ethical attitudes among business students. They analyzed 47 empirical studies (drawn from 208) and concluded that in 29 of the studies, there was a significant difference between the genders. And the general tendency was that females exhibited stronger ethical attitudes and potential behavior than their male counterparts, at least in the face of hypothetical dilemmas. They appeared to have a greater ethical sensitivity (which, according to the authors, of course did not imply that they would necessarily behave more ethically in a real-life situation).\(^{211}\)

A more recent study, pointing in the same direction, was carried out by Altmyer et al. (2011), who wanted to know if the students completing a business education, including an ethics course, could show a measurable increase in ethical awareness when compared to other students. In order to find out, they carried out a survey involving 410 students who were exposed to a number of hypothetical situations, to which they should respond that it was “definitely not an ethical issue,” “definitely an ethical issue” or something in-between. The authors found modest support that students who had completed an ethics course were more ethically aware than those who had not. They could, however, draw the conclusion that females appeared more ethically aware than the males, and that students with a higher GPA (grade point average) appeared more ethically aware than students with a lower GPA.\(^{212}\)

\(^{208}\) Gilligan (1984), 64 f.
\(^{210}\) Rest (1986), p. 5.
\(^{212}\) Altmyer et al. (2011), p. 41.
This was much in line with the results of this study, in which both the gender with a higher grade average (females) and the study orientation with the higher grade average (higher education preparatory programs) developed the most.

The general female advantage

The discovery that higher-achieving students in general learn more from an ethics course than lower-achieving ones may not be surprising (this is a tendency that Kohlberg and his colleagues saw several times). What would be interesting to understand, though, is why higher-achieving students so often are females – because if we would understand it we could perhaps find ways of reducing the differences. In a meta-analysis from 2014, Voyer & Voyer studied 369 samples in 313 individual studies, examining gender differences in teacher-assigned school grades from primary school to university. What they found was a general female advantage, which had been stable since 1914 (but was smaller in the Scandinavian countries than the rest of the world). It culminated in middle school, declined later on and was no longer significant at doctoral student level. It was the largest in language courses and the smallest in mathematics courses.

According to the authors, one of the explanations could be the so called expectancy-value model. If one has low expectancy of success and sees little future value in a specific course topic (which may be the case for males in languages and for females in mathematics), one may not be very motivated to work hard in that course. This model, however, could not fully explain the finding that females have an advantage in all course material. The authors thus considered other explanations as well, such as the social one that parents encourage more educational efforts in females than in males. They also considered the biological one that males in general have higher activity levels,

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213 Skolverket (2017), p. 3
214 Rest p. 33 f.
which makes it more difficult for them to pay attention in class and also affects their behavior (which, in turn, affects the teachers’ perceptions of them).215

As a complementary explanation one could also mention the “anti-school culture” or “effortless achievement culture” among male students, described by Zimmerman (2018). According to him, there is in very masculine environments a widespread belief that you are good in a subject rather than that you become good, and if you study ambitiously you run the risk of being viewed as feminine. In order to reduce the difference between the genders, it is therefore important, he claims, to actively challenge this belief and give the male students support so that they can succeed better in their studies.216

Which conclusions can be drawn?

Ethical awareness – the definition again

Now, let us return to the primary question in this study. Are there any clear indications that the Three Step Model would be a more effective method for increasing ethical awareness than more traditional forms of ethics teaching? Ultimately, I should say, it depends on how one weighs the evidence. In Chapter 1, ethical awareness was defined the following way:

In the specific sense that the concept will be used in this study, it means that they become better at recognizing ethical problems and their possible solutions, that they become more attentive to situations in which a moral decision has to be made (by someone). A desirable implication of this is that they also become more attentive to their own moral behavior and thus, hopefully, more inclined to make well-reasoned decisions. It is an ethical awareness that has to do with how one perceives and interacts with the world, the increase of which

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means that one sees ethical problems in situations where one did not see them before (perhaps because one did not look for them).

This definition has two parts: the first referring to a *general* ability to recognize ethical problems (in real-life situations and hypothetical stories) and the second referring to a more *specific* ability to recognize ethical problems in one’s own interaction with the world, which will hopefully also affect the decision one makes. Recognizing an ethical problem is closely linked to recognizing its solutions, because unless one recognizes at least two possible solutions (ways of action), one cannot recognize the problem either. And since the improvement of the ability to recognize solutions was an important aim of the autonomy training, the Three Step Model was predicted to be a more effective method for increasing ethical awareness. But was it? That is the question addressed in the following discussion.

What we have seen

In the second part of the post-test (measure B), the students were asked a number of questions that they were supposed to be able to answer better than they did in the pre-test, taking into account that their ethical awareness had increased. The item that was the most relevant for what the measure aimed to capture, and thus assessed separately, was 2–3: “Give an example of something that is/could be an ethical problem/dilemma” and “How would you like to solve this problem? Why?” In both sub-studies, the development in this item from pre- to post-test was significantly stronger in the intervention condition than in the control condition. So, it appears that the students in the intervention condition acquired more procedural knowledge in ethical problem-solving (of the kind that has been prescribed in this study).

But if we go to the first part of the post-test (measure A), in which the students were asked to respond to a number of statements about how the teaching had affected them, the picture looks different. The items that were assessed separately were 1–2: “After the ethics teaching, I have become better at discovering ethical problems in everyday life/finding solutions to the problems I discover” and 3: “After the ethics teaching, I reflect more upon my behavior towards others”. Together, they cover the most important aspects of increased ethical awareness (according to the definition above), but none
of them exhibited a significant difference between the conditions (just a numerical tendency in favor of the control condition in Sub study 2.) So, it appears that the students in the intervention condition at least did not experience a stronger development.

Pros and cons of both measures

But does this mean that they actually did not develop more? Before we try to answer this question, we have to acknowledge the pros and cons of both ways of assessing moral development. The general advantage with measure B was that it showed how much the students could actually retrieve from their long-term memory compared to how much they knew from the beginning. Unless they had purposely not answered the best they could (or the other way around, found a sophisticated way to cheat), it should be a valid measure of what they had learned in terms of demonstrable knowledge. The disadvantage was that it had open-ended questions, which in some cases made different answers to the same questions difficult to compare regarding the amount of points they were worth (for example, in the case of question 1, why a problem just having to do with clothing is not an ethical problem). For the sake of reliability I had to elaborate a model for how different types of answers should be quantified (see Appendix), but even using this model, there were some tricky borderline cases. Quantifying them in a consistent way was a challenge even though I had formulated the questions (and the grading criteria) myself, so absolute reliability in measure B was difficult to guarantee.

This was a problem I did not encounter with measure A, the rating scale self-assessment in which the responses could be quantified by just a mechanical procedure. No consideration was needed regarding the amount of points the answers were worth, which was a great advantage. Another advantage was that it gave direct access to how the students experienced their own development – provided that they responded carefully and honestly to the statements, which we cannot be sure of. Did the students really believe that they had developed? Had they even understood, or read, the statements they were responding to? Without also conducting interviews with them (or making a more detailed statistical analysis in which the students’ answers in measures A and B were compared on an individual level), there is really no way to find
out. There is, in other words, a higher degree of uncertainty regarding the validity of measure A: we do not know what its results really mean.

Different arguments

But even if we assume that the two measures had the same degree of validity (were equally good indicators of the students’ development), the tendency that the intervention students scored higher in measure B was still stronger than the tendency that the control students scored higher in measure A. This was true regarding both the assessments in total and the items that were studied separately. So, in this sense the intervention students developed more. What still can be discussed, however, is how this development relates to ethical awareness. One could argue like the following: “There were indeed some things that the students in the intervention condition learned better, such as giving examples of ethical problems and their possible solutions (not surprisingly as this was what the teachers were instructed to train the students in). But it would be far-fetched to call this an increase in ethical awareness, as being able to exemplify an ethical problem does not automatically imply being able to recognize one. If measure B would have assessed the ability to actually recognize an ethical problem, the situation would have been different. But since it did not, we cannot draw the conclusion that the intervention students developed more in terms of ethical awareness. Especially not as the answers in measure A did not indicate this either.”

My response would then be the following: It is indeed the case that if the students in the intervention condition would have developed according to the expectations, they would have scored higher in both measures A and B. But they did not, which indicated that the Three Step Model did not affect the students as strongly as it was intended to do on a personal level (which, as we have seen, could be due to several reasons). It is also the case that the ability to exemplify an ethical problem does not automatically entail the ability to recognize one. But the likelihood that you will recognize an ethical problem is greater if you are able to exemplify one (and justify a relevant solution to it) than if you are not, because if you have a good picture of what an ethical problem is, you will know better what to look for. And this is a development we saw much more of in the intervention condition. It may be that the ethics teaching did not affect the students’ ways of making decisions.
in everyday life, but their awareness of what an ethical problem is appeared to have increased, more than it did in the control condition.

**Tentative conclusion**

And due to what we know, it is very likely that this difference, at least to *some* degree, was caused by the intervention with the Three Step Model. Therefore the tentative conclusion is that the Three Step Model is more effective than regular ethics teaching when it comes to increasing ethical awareness. At least if one defines ethical awareness and measures it in the two (complementary) ways used in this study. As it was a *complex* intervention in regular practice, with three steps and five exercise types with several repetitions of each one of them, we do not really know what its greatest strength was. It could have been the instruction in autonomous problem-solving, it could have been the progression and the repetition built into the method, it could have been some other factor, but it was probably a combination that generated the effects. The students *had* to repeat and learn what an ethical problem was and how it could be solved properly, otherwise they would not be able to do all the exercises (especially not 2B and 3B), let alone pass the examination test. So, if the method was followed literally, it gave them no alternative but to learn these things as best they could. (Since the questions in measure B regarding knowledge about normative theories were not assessed separately, we do not yet know if the intervention students scored higher in this item as well, but if they did, it would make the case for the method even stronger.)

This suggests that the Three Step Model, and other methods that focus directly on the (gradual) development of ethical problem-solving skills, have a promising potential that deserves to be further explored and tested in different settings, of course with the goal to make them even more efficient. It

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217 According to Persson & Sahlin (2009, p. 548 f.), an ideal intervention is one where very few causes are manipulated (such as in a laboratory experiment), as this makes it easier to establish a causal relationship between X (the variable intervened upon) and Y (the variable that is expected to change as a result). Applied to this study, this means that the intervention would have been more ideal if, for example, only autonomy training had been added to the ethics teaching to see if it would make its long-term effects stronger, since this would have made it easier to judge whether the autonomy training really was a cause of increased ethical awareness (which, indeed, is one of the presumptions).
also suggests that the development of domain-specific skills in other subjects could be a more effective key to long-term retention than we have previously been aware of; my hope is that this question will be addressed by future pedagogic-didactic research.

Remaining issue

Nevertheless, there is a remaining issue with the results in this study, as the hypothesis that the intervention students would score higher in measure A could not be confirmed. Again, we do not know what the exact reasons for this are, but as we have seen, it could be that they did not find the method emotionally engaging – perhaps because it was demanding, or because the teacher could not teach with the same vitality as usual (or both). If this is true, it is a setback, as one of the goals with the Three Step Model was to make the students more engaged by the ethics teaching than they had been before. And if it did not, chances are that the development (even if measurable) will not affect any of the decisions they make in everyday life. But on the other hand, it appears that the intervention students acquired a more solid basis for ethical awareness than the control students. And without this basis, chances are that no awareness will be developed whatsoever.

So, it may be that a teacher who considers using the Three Step Model (in its present form) needs to ask him/herself what is the most important: that the students make as much progress as possible during the teaching period, or that they become as interested as possible so that they will continue inquiring the subject afterwards. If the teacher chooses to use the Three Step Model, the progress is probably considered the most important.

But perhaps the two goals would be possible to combine if an additional and potentially engaging element could be added to the Three Step Model; more specifically to the part in which the students are asked to write about their real and personal problems (Exercise 2B). I do not know how much the teachers in the intervention condition actually made the students do this but as mentioned before, I see this writing therapy as a precondition for the ethics teaching to actually make a difference in their lives. What you learn is what you practice, and in order to learn how to better solve real life ethical problems, you have to practice just this. But perhaps this was not done in the most
effective way in this study, as the students were asked to apply the autonomous skill on problems they had encountered in the past. This is indeed better than not applying it on personal problems at all, but why not try reversing the order so that the skill is developed first and the problem occurs afterwards, so that they can apply the skill to it immediately, when it is fresh (and perhaps emotionally charged)?

This could be done by making the students keep a journal (just like the students in the Just Community schools did during the 1970-s) of the ethical problems they encounter, directly after they have learned what an ethical problem is (Exercise 1). As a kind of homework that will be followed up during the next session, the students could be asked to take notes about ethical problems they recognize. These notes could then be handed in to the teacher for him/her to make sure that they have understood what they should look for; some of the problems could also be discussed with the rest of the class. Then, when the students arrive at Exercise 2B, they could use these (recently) recognized problems and train their autonomous problem-solving skills on them. If the idea with the journal should be implemented and welcomed by the students, I believe that it could make the effects of the Three Step Model stronger. Perhaps even strong enough to make the intervention students score higher than the control students in both measures A and B. This could be a way of finishing the groundwork that has been initiated in this study.

Validity considerations

After the tentative conclusion has been drawn I need to say a few things about the validity of the study, and I have chosen to use the definition by Shadish, Cook and Campbell as a starting point. According to them, validity has to do with whether “relevant evidence supports an inference as being true or correct”;\(^{218}\) in other words, whether or not the conclusion is backed up with enough evidence. We here look at a number of possible challenges to the validity of this study, how they were addressed and how they (in retrospect) could have been addressed even more effectively.

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\(^{218}\) Shadish et al. (2002) p. 34 f.
Internal validity

*Internal* validity, according to the authors mentioned above, has to do with whether the “observed covariation between A (the presumed treatment) and B (the presumed outcome) reflects a causal relationship from A to B as those variables were manipulated or measured.”219 Applied to this study, this means that the tentative conclusion (that the Three Step Model is more effective than regular ethics teaching when it comes to increasing ethical awareness) is only true if the reason for the students’ development from pre- to post-test was the “methods” for ethics teaching that were used in the respective conditions. In the following, we take a look at some potential threats to this presumption.

Potential threat #1 is that (some of) the teachers did not really teach according to the instructions I gave them. This may have been the case especially in the intervention condition, whose teachers were given a very detailed set of guidelines. As we saw in Chapter 6, all of the teachers reported that they followed the instructions to at least a *relatively* high degree. It is, however, possible or even likely that some of them deviated from the instructions more than they would admit to me. The reason why this is a threat is that it could mean that it was not the Three Step Model *per sé* that made the intervention students develop more in a way that makes it possible to claim that the method “itself” was effective. It could instead have been, for example, my way of explaining the method (in an encouraging way) that made them teach better than they usually did, even if they did not follow the structure of the model as closely as I expected. Then it could rather have been my participation than the teaching method that generated the results which would also, of course, have implications for the possibility to generalize the findings of the study. So, strictly speaking, what we can say something about is not really what happens when they follow the instruction but rather what happens when they are *told* to do it (in an encouraging way) and report afterwards that they did.

To deal with this threat, the teachers in the intervention condition (who, just like the teachers in the control condition, had the possibility to withdraw from the study) were supervised twice: right before and in the middle of the

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219 Ibid p. 37 f.
ethics section, which hopefully made them more prone to do things correctly. Also, the file folder given to them was very explicit with what they should do and why; it did not leave much room for interpretation. But there are, of course, a number of other things that could have been done differently as well to ensure that the teachers followed the instructions closely.

First: there could have been a more explicit distinction made in the file folder between the instructions they had to obey unconditionally (because they were essential) and the instructions they could be more flexible about. Second: it could have been emphasized in the teaching guide to the control condition that the instructions had to be followed carefully as their nature was very basic (and left a lot of freedom to the teachers anyway). Third: the teachers in both conditions could have been given a battery of questions afterwards, instead of just one, about how closely they had followed the instructions – and it could have been given to them after the conversation with me (not as a part of it) which would have increased the likelihood of sincere answers. That way this threat against the internal validity of the study could have been minimized.

Potential threat #2 is that the teachers in the intervention condition were more skillful or charismatic than the ones in the control condition, so that one could claim that the results were caused by who the teachers were, rather than by the ways in which they were instructed. This could especially have been the case in Sub-study 1, in which the two teaching conditions were made up by different sets of teachers and their study groups (without an initial randomization). The purpose of Sub-study 2 was to deal with this threat by also having a part of the study in which the same set of teachers participated in both teaching conditions. And as we saw, the results did not differ much.

But, of course, with a different design it could have been dealt with even better; for example, by only having one sub-study with a set of teachers, who taught in the control condition during the first year and in the intervention condition during the second year. This would not only have minimized the risk that the results were due to the personalities of the teachers in the two

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220 According to Stephens-Davidowitz (2017, p. 108), whose research shows that people often lie in surveys, people tend to be more honest the less personal the conditions are. For eliciting truthful answers, internet surveys are better than phone surveys, which are better than in-person surveys. People will admit more if they are alone than if others are in the room with them, his research shows.
conditions, but it would also have made it easier to keep track of all the teachers and the different choices they made during the teaching periods. Alternatively, the threat could have been dealt with by assigning the 15 teachers randomly to either one of the conditions, which would have minimized the risk that the more skillful or charismatic teachers were gathered in one of them.

But this would have required that the study groups that followed the teachers into the conditions were equally high-achieving from the beginning, since a well-designed experiment (of course) also presupposes that the more high-achieving students are not gathered in one of the teaching conditions. And this is potential threat # 3: that the students in the intervention condition were more high-achieving from the beginning than the ones in the control condition, because it could mean that the abilities of the students constituted the key variable rather than the “methods” that were used.

To deal with this threat I made sure that there was the same proportion (or disproportion) between vocational and higher education preparatory programs, and males and females, in both teaching conditions. Also, by having a second sub-study in which the same set of teachers taught in both conditions, which entailed that the students in the intervention- and the control conditions respectively were from the same schools and similar programs, it was revealed what would happen to the differences in results under these circumstances (not much).

But even more could obviously have been done. For example, I could have gathered information about the admission credits for different programs at different schools and only compared schools and programs in which the admission credits were similar, so that the students in both conditions (at least with regard to previous results) were equally strong from the beginning. That would have been another way of dealing with this threat against the internal validity.

Potential threat # 4 is that some students had ethics teaching from a different source during the teaching period, since they studied philosophy during the same semester. This is a threat because it could mean that we would not know if it was the ethics teaching in the religious education that made them develop or if it was the other teaching. To deal with this threat, the teachers in both conditions were asked to report to me which students studied philosophy the same semester, so that I could exclude their answers as non-answers. Hopefully I got all the information I needed.
Potential threat # 5 is that the quantification of the students’ answers in the pre- and post-tests was not done in a reliable way. This may especially have been the case with the open-ended questions in measure B. To deal with this threat, I developed a model for how different kinds of answers should be quantified (see Appendix) and followed it the best I could. Also, my supervisor checked 10% of all the quantified answers randomly afterwards, and in 9/10 cases, we agreed about the score from the beginning. That way we dealt with this threat as best we could. But at least one additional thing could have been done: I could have made sure to be unaware whether I was quantifying the answers of the intervention- or the control condition respectively, which I was not.

Other potential threats against the internal validity could be, for example, that some teachers did not follow the instruction not to repeat any ethics with the students during the 10–12 weeks from examination to post-test (more than what was necessary to give the complementary examination after two weeks to the students who had failed the first time). Or that some teachers did not follow the instruction not to tell the students which date I was coming back to give them the post-test. These factors are difficult to control for, but perhaps they could have been covered by the battery of questions that should have been given the teachers during the conversation afterwards.

External validity

We then come to external validity which, according to Shadish, Cook and Campbell, has to do with whether “the cause-effect relationship holds over variations in persons, settings, treatment variables, and measurement variables.”221 Applied to this study, this would mean that the tentative conclusion (that the Three Step Model is more effective than regular ethics teaching when it comes to increasing ethical awareness) is only externally valid if it can be generalized to upper secondary school students in general (or even students in general, irrespective of age). Also, it would mean that it is only externally valid if different versions of the method could be used with the same effectiveness and if other assessment tools could be used with (roughly) the same

221 Ibid p. 38.
results. In the following, we look at some potential threats to these presumptions.

Potential threat #1 is that the participating students were not representative of students in general. To deal with this threat, more than 40 study groups at 11 schools in 4 different cities were included, and the total number of students (when the non-answers had been excluded) was over 500. This sample is so large that it should entail a relatively high degree of representativeness. But even more than this could, of course, have been done; the participating schools could have been selected more randomly, making it possible to have informants more spread out in different parts of Sweden (in this study, almost all participating schools were in the very south). This could, perhaps, have made the sample even more representative.

Potential threat # 2 is that the results in this study would not stand the test of something being different in the way the intervention students were taught; for example if some of the exercises were replaced by other exercises of the same kind. This, in turn, could imply that is was not the Three Step Model as a formula for ethics teaching that was effective, but rather something else (such as a particular example of an ethical problem). This is a threat that was not dealt with in this study, but could be dealt with in future research by doing just this: replacing (some of) the exercises with others. The point of this would be to ensure that as long as the teacher sticks to the method, there should be promising results. Testing this would be a way to handle this threat against external validity.

Potential threat # 3 is that the discovered results cannot be achieved with other ways of measuring ethical awareness; that they, on the contrary, were very much dependent on the assessment tool used (developed by me). This, in turn, would mean that it could not really be claimed that the results showed an underlying cognitive change as such a change should be possible to detect with other instruments as well. This is a threat that was not dealt with in this study but which can be dealt with in future research, by also testing the students with a complementary assessment tool, such as a student-adapted version of ECQ-WLB (developed by Kavathartzopoulos to measure moral autonomy) or some of the other psychological assessment tools that exist. Then, the results achieved with the complementary tool could be compared to the ones achieved with the present one, to see if they would point to any similar tendencies.
But as these assessment tools normally have quite advanced scoring systems, using them would probably require that I cooperated with a moral psychologist, specializing in this kind of psychometric testing (who could make sure that everything was done correctly). Such a cooperation could also enable a more advanced statistical analysis of the data than the one that was performed in this study (such as a regression analysis to tease apart the impact of multiple factors). This would bring even greater clarity to the results and enhance both the internal and the external validity of the research.

Ethical considerations

Apart from considering all the relevant validity issues, it is vital in a study like this to make sure that everything has been conducted in a responsible and ethical way in relation to the participants. De Vaus (2001) has outlined four broad ethical principles that social research should conform to regardless of the design. These are voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm to participants and anonymity and confidentiality.222 We here look at each one of them, what they refer to more specifically and how they have been observed in this study.

Voluntary participation

It is a well-established principle of social research that people should not be required or led to believe that they are required to participate in a study. Furthermore, participants should know they can withdraw from the study at any point.223 In this study, the principle of voluntary participation applies to both the teachers and the students. When I met the teachers the first time and informed them about the project, it was made clear to them that their

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222 Another researcher who has outlined some famous principles for (biomedical) research ethics is Beauchamp (2013, p. 88). These principles are non-malifcience (do no harm), beneficence (do well), respect for autonomy and justice. They are relatively similar to de Vaus’ principles, but as I found de Vaus’ principles more directly applicable to a social research project, I decided to use them instead.

participation was voluntary. Several teachers showed their interest and consequently also participated in the study; others showed an initial interest but later withdrew. With regard to the students, they were informed that their participation would be appreciated but that it, of course, was voluntarily. Even though most students seemed happy to participate, a few of them wanted to stay out, which was obviously respected. The participating students were encouraged to contact me in case they had any questions.

**Informed consent**

According to de Vaus, informed consent is a close cousin of voluntary participation. At the very least, participants should be informed about (1) the purpose of the study and its basic procedures, (2) the identity of the researcher and the sponsor and (3) how the data might be used.\(^{224}\) In this study, both the teachers and the students were informed about the purpose of the study. They were told that different instructions were given to different teachers and that it was up to the students to help me determine the best way of teaching ethics. In the informed consent form that was given to the students when they were asked to complete the pre-test (see Appendix), it was also clear who the researcher was, which university I worked for and that the results would be published in a (publicly accessible) doctoral thesis. And again, they were encouraged to contact me if they needed any more information.

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\(^{224}\) Ibid p. 85.
No harm to participants

In some experimental and quasi-experimental studies, participants are potentially exposed to harm. For example, in psychological experiments participants might be given stimuli or be induced to behave in ways that they later regret and find distressing.\(^{225}\) In this study, there were probably no such risks involved but it might be that some teachers found it uncomfortable to be in a study in which results of different teaching approaches were measured, as these results to some degree would also be an indicator of personal teaching skills. I thus made clear to them that it was teaching methods, not individual teachers, which would be compared. Consequently, results of individual teachers have not been accounted for in the study, in way that would make it possible to state that one teacher “produced” better results than another.

With regard to the students, there was a potentially challenging exercise type in the Three Step Model: 2B in which they were asked to write about a personal ethical problem they had encountered and how they would have solved it today. It may be that some students found this exercise to be too personal. In order to avoid this problem, a possibility was built into the exercise to instead write about a problem they had not encountered personally, but which someone else had encountered personally and became emotionally affected by (because the most important thing was that they would give a personal example of an ethical problem). There may also have been some particular exercises of other types that were sensitive to some students; for example, one about a sick woman in a hospital. In the case the teacher anticipated problems with these exercises, s/he was free not to use them (even though sensitive ethical problems should be better to work with than non-sensitive ones). During the course of the teaching periods, I had dialogues with the teachers, especially the ones in the intervention condition, and took notes when they reported that something had been problematic with the exercises.

\(^{225}\) Ibid p. 86.
Anonymity and confidentiality

According to de Vaus, there is an obvious way in which the participants could be harmed: by failure to honor promises of confidentiality. People participating in experiments and quasi-experiments are entitled to expect that they cannot be identified as the source of any particular information.226 In this study, both the teachers and the students were guaranteed anonymity. Even though the students, for practical reasons, were asked to write their names on top of the pre- and post-tests, they were ensured that their names would afterwards be replaced by codes. In the informed consent form that they were given, they were also ensured that no one except me and my supervisor would be able to see their answers (until they had been anonymized) and that all material would be locked up in a safety deposit box (the lists with information about the students’ names and classes were locked up in a different one). When the results were accounted for in the study, it was done in way that did not enable identifying students, teachers or schools. Thereby the anonymity and confidentiality of all participants could be guaranteed. My research project was examined by the ethics board in Lund and approved on January 27, 2016 (registration number 2015/794).

226 Ibid p. 87.
8. FUTURE RESEARCH

As already mentioned, it would be interesting to follow up this study, not least in order to find out how the Three Step Model could be improved. But before doing this, the first natural step would be to do something more about the already existing material I have (i.e., pre- and post-tests from more than 500 students). More precisely, performing a separate assessment of the items in measure A and B that were not assessed separately in this study. This could give us a more detailed picture of the differences in results between the teaching conditions and help us understand the discrepancy between the measures even better. On the negative side, it could be confirmed that the Three Step model (in its present form) makes the students less interested in ethics compared to regular teaching. But on the positive side, it could be confirmed that it also makes the students learn the normative theories better than regular ethics teaching. Only a complementary analysis can tell.

But I would also like to make a more qualitative analysis of all the answers, on the basis of questions such as: what kind of problems do the students exemplify most commonly? How do the exemplified problems typically develop/change from pre- to post-test? Is there any difference in this regard between the intervention and the control conditions? And: do male and female (and vocational and higher education preparatory) students exemplify different kinds of ethical problems? Considering the diversity of answers I have seen (see Appendix), this could be really interesting to study.

The second step would be to see how the issue with the Three Step Model (that it does not appear to make the students more engaged by the ethics teaching) can be dealt with. This would require a new trial, perhaps with partly new teachers. As mentioned before, it would be interesting to add an
element of a journal that the students keep about ethical problems they encounter. Thereby they could apply their problem-solving skills to problems they have now, not just on problems they had in the past. This would probably make the intervention with the Three Step Model more effective (perhaps effective enough to make the student taught by it score higher in both measures A and B). In such a trial, I would naturally make use of all the methodological lessons I have learned from this study, such as having fewer teachers involved to be able to keep better track of the choices they made during the teaching period. Also, I would interview these teachers afterwards about how they experienced teaching according to a new and detailed instruction, compared to teaching the way they were used to. Thereby, a teachers’ perspective on the method would be introduced as well.

The third step would be to see how the Three Step Model could be developed in other ways. I am especially considering the use of Spaced Learning, a British teaching method developed by teachers and neuroscientists in order to encode long-term memories during a single session. The principle, that the same condensed material (with some variation) is repeated three times with 10-minutes spaces in-between, has been proved successful in several learning contexts. Could this time protocol be applied to the exercising of the basic skills in the model; for example, by having a Spaced Learning session in which the students learn how to solve a problem autonomously before they start applying the skill to their real and personal ethical problems? This could, in a powerful way, enhance the effects of the Three Step Model.

The fourth step (although they do not necessarily have to be taken in that order) would be to design research projects on the following themes:

1. Ethics teaching and the testing effect. What about testing the students’ knowledge about ethics repeatedly, but with considerable time intervals in-between, during a year after the examination test? For example, after two months, four mounts and eight months to see what happens with their (declarative and procedural) knowledge during this time? In all likelihood, it will be retained and probably it will even be strengthened by the testing.  

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228 Dunlosky et al. (2013) p. 29 f.
2. Ethics teaching and male students. What would ethics teaching look like if it was especially designed to appeal to *male* students? What kind of approach would make them develop and *experience* that they had developed at least as much as the females? I believe (though I have no proof) that very concrete and hands-on ethics teaching would be good for this purpose.

3. Ethics teaching and mindfulness. Could mindfulness practices or meditation be used, inside or outside the ethics classroom, to enhance the students’ sense of inner balance, and thereby help them become better at solving problems autonomously? Indeed, there are some aspects of mindfulness that are similar to autonomy (as a state of mind): the awareness of one’s choices in the present situation and the stillness that makes it possible to postpone a decision until one has all the relevant information.\(^{229}\) I do believe that practicing this can make it more likely that the ethics teaching will have implications for how the students deal with moral problems in real life.

So, these are the ideas: some of them just exist as thought embryos, some are more elaborated, but all of them are interesting and one or two will almost certainly be implemented with the overarching goal to make teaching more efficient. My vision is very much alive and I look forward to finding ways of realizing it.

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\(^{229}\) Williams et al. (2007), p. 54.
9. Svensk sammanfattning

Inledning


För att få veta något om detta måste vi gå över till det den psykologiska forskningen, där Jean Piaget historiskt var en pionjär i fråga om studier av moralutveckling. På basis av intervjuer med barn i olika åldrar utarbetade han en teori för hur heteronom moral i 10-årsåldern övergår till autonom moral.
Det vill säga: hur vi går från att se moraliska (och andra) regler som absoluta och oförändliga diktat från en auktoritet, till att se dem som relativa, i princip förändringsbara, överenskommelser mellan jämlikar. När vår syn på reglerna förändras blir vi också mer benägna att följa dem: det är som att de inkorporeras i vårt sätt att vara. Enligt Piaget är detta ett led i den allmänna socio-kognitiva utvecklingen då vi, i takt med vår ökade förmåga se saker ur olika perspektiv, får en alltmer adekvat bild av omvärlden och blir allt bättre på att adaptera till den. Eftersom han såg utvecklingen som en i grunden spontan process menade han dock inte att vi kunde (eller borde försöka) påskynda moralutvecklingen med hjälp av aktiv intervention.

Det menade däremot hans efterföljare Lawrence Kohlberg, som studerade moralen som något separat och i sina undersökningar gick betydligt högre upp i åldrarna än Piaget. På basis av intervjuer med barn, ungdomar och vuxna beskrev han en moralutveckling i sex steg, indelade på tre olika nivåer: den prekonventionella (steg 1-2) den konventionella (steg 2-3) och den post-konventionella eller principiella (steg 4-5), där individen gradvis upptäcker de universella moraliska principerna (i synnerhet rättvisans princip). De flesta människor kom under livet upp till den konventionella nivån, menade han, men få kom längre. Tillsammans med en kollega demonstrerade han att det gick det att påskynda en människas utveckling genom att diskutera dilemman med henne, lokalisera hennes nuvarande utvecklingssteg och exponera henne för frågor och argument ett steg ovanför detta (+1). Därmed skapade man en kognitiv konflikt i henne som gjorde att hon drogs till ett mer universellt, icke-egocentriskt sätt att förstå rätt och fel, dvs. till nästa steg i moralutvecklingen. Det förblev dock oklart i vilken mån detta också fick konsekvenser för hennes sätt att handla.

En nutida efterföljare till Piaget och Kohlberg är den svenske psykologen Iordanis Kavathatzopoulos. Som jag tolkar honom menar han att om man vill utveckla människors etiska resonemangs förmåga så att det faktiskt påverkar deras beslut, har man större chans att lyckas om man utgår från Piajets autonomi-heteronomi-distinktion (eftersom den handlar om en utveckling av både resonemang och handlande) än om man utgår från Kohlbergs skala (som i grunden bara handlar om hur man resonerar men där man antar att det finns implikationer för handlandet). I en rad studier på människor i olika ålder har Kavathatzopoulos visat att det går att, med hjälp av enbart instruktioner och viss träning, få människor att skifta angreppssätt när de möter ett


Det primära syftet med denna studie har varit att, med hjälp av en intervention i ordinarie etikundervisning, ta reda på om Trestegsmodellen verkligen har bättre förutsättningar för att utveckla elevernas etiska medvetenhet än vad mer traditionell etikundervisning har. Det sekundära syftet har varit att undersöka om etisk medvetenhet (oavsett undervisningsmetod) är lättare att väcka hos högskoleförberedande än yrkesförberedande elever, samt om det är lättare att väcka det hos kvinnliga än manliga elever; i båda fallen finns tidigare forskning som pekar på att så skulle vara fallet.
Traditionell etikundervisning vs. Trestegsmodellen


Syftet med Trestegsmodellen är att ge etikundervisningen en ny och mer effektiv formel än den som är föreskriven i den nuvarande kursplanen för Religion 1 (även om den stämmer väl med föreskriften att eleverna ska lära sig att använda etiska begrepp, teorier och modeller). Den är inte primärt ett innehåll utan en metod, vilket innebär att om de övningar som föreslås skulle bytas ut mot andra övningar av samma slag (eller om de normativa teorier som föreslås att användas i steg tre skulle bytas ut mot andra) skulle det fortfarande vara Trestegsmodellen, bara en annan version av den. Metoden syftar till att långsiktigt öka elevernas etiska medvetenhet. Den vilar på antagandet att det är relevant att introducera normativa teorier för dem, måste man först utveckla deras personliga färdigheter i att hantera (emotionellt laddade) verkliga etiska problem – annars kommer etisk teori och moralisk praktik aldrig att kopplas ihop i deras huvuden. Här är utvecklingen av moralisk autonomi en nyckelkomponent eftersom den innebär att man blir mer självständig och rationell i förhållande till etiska problem. Trestegsmodellen skiljer sig därmed från traditionell etikundervisning genom att den dels inte för in de normativa teorierna förrän relativt sent, dels inte använder teorierna för att finna lösningen på ett etiskt problem, utan till att i efterhand pröva en
lösning som föreslagits och motiverats. Metoden består av tre distinkta steg och fem olika övningstyper, alla utarbetade på förhand, som gradvis förbereder eleven för det examinationsprov som läraren slutligen ger dem.

**Steg 1** är att eleverna lär sig att ursskilja ett etiskt problem. Att de bemåstrar denna färdighet innebär att de förmår härleda ett etiskt problem ur en hypotetisk situation där ett sådant ännu inte har formulerats (övningstyp 1). De ska också kunna motivera varför de härleder just det problemet. Avsikten är att de ska bli mer uppmärksamma på etiska problem och lära sig att mentalt ”stanna upp” när det är finns en tveksamhet i fråga om huruvida något är rätt eller inte, vilket ökar sannolikheten för att ett väl övervägt beslut ska fattas i slutändan.

**Steg 2** är att de lär sig att lösa ett etiskt problem utifrån den konkreta situationen. Att de bemåstrar denna färdighet innebär att de, ställda inför ett etiskt problem, förmår ursskilja de alternativa sätt man kan lösa det på och, utifrån situationen, argumentera för vilket de väljer. Det vill säga: de lär sig att förbli autonomt istället för att hänvisa till en regel eller auktoritet som säger vad som *alltid* är rätt eller fel i en dylik situation. På detta sätt får de först finna lösningar till hypotetiska problem (övningstyp 2A), sedan på verkliga problem från sitt eget liv som de ger exempel på (övningstyp 2B). Syftet med detta steg är att föra deras etiska medvetenhet ytterligare ett steg framåt, då det innebär att de gör sig oberoende av gängse föreställningar om vad som ”måste” göras, och lär sig att använda en medveten problemlösningsstrategi i situationer när man normalt bara går på instinkt eller vana.


**Examinationsprovet** slutligen, innebär att eleverna får en hypotetisk men realistisk situation beskriven för sig i ett skriftligt prov, där de ska 1: ursskilja det etiska problemet, 2: lösa det utifrån den konkreta situationen och 3: relatera lösningen till dels utilitarismen, dels Kants pliktetik. Med andra ord får
de, i examinationsprovet (som också är utarbetat på förhand), repetera alla tre stegen igen.

Hur jämförelsen gjordes

Interventionsgruppen i denna studie utgjordes av elever vars lärare blivit instruerade att använda Trestegsmodellen, medan kontrollgruppen utgjordes av elever vars lärare blivit instruerade att undervisa i grunden som vanligt, men med några tillagda instruktioner. Dessa gick (i korthet) ut på att de skulle ge eleverna minst sex lektioner undervisning, förklara för dem att syftet var att utveckla deras förmåga att hantera etiska problem i verkliga livet, fokusera undervisningen på (realistiska) etiska problem, låta elever föreslå lösningar på problemen och se till att de kunde motivera lösningarna, samt förklara utilitarismen och Kants pliktetik för dem och visa hur de kunde tillämpas. Avsikten med dessa instruktioner var att det skulle finnas vissa likheter mellan hur lärarna i interventions- respektive kontrollgruppens lärare undervisade, så att de båda ”metoderna” blev jämförbara med varandra och möjliga att utvärdera med samma instrument.


10-12 veckor efter examination (en period då lärarna var instruerade att inte repetera något av etikundervisningen) kom jag tillbaka till klassen och gav eleverna ett eftertest. Syftet med dess första del var ta reda på om deras självskatade etiska medvetenhet hade ökat (om de kände att de blivit bättre
på att urskilja etiska problem och deras lösningar, om de reflekterade mer över hur de betedde sig mot andra, om de hade blivit bättre på att argumentera för vad de ansåg var rätt och fel, om de hade blivit mer intresserade av etiska frågor); detta var mått A på elevernas utveckling. Syftet med dess andra del var att ta reda på om deras påvisbara kunskap i etik hade ökat sedan förtestet (genom att repetera frågorna om vad etiskt problem är etc.); detta var mått B på elevernas utveckling. I båda delarna av eftertestet fanns också vissa delar (påståenden/frågor) som ansågs mer relevanta än andra och därför bedömdes separat för att göra måtten skarpare. Jag hade också ett efterföljande samtal med varje lärare där jag fick information, bland annat om hur mycket tid undervisningen hade tagit, hur nära de hade följt instruktionerna, samt vilka elever som inte hade deltagit i undervisningen (och därmed skulle räknas som bortfall). När kvantifieringen och den statistiska analysen av elevernas svar genomfördes, skedde detta i nära samarbete med mina handledare och i dialog med en statistiker. På detta sätt kunde vi tillsammans se till att allt gick rätt till och att det inte blev någon avsiktlig snedvridning till interventionsgruppens fördel.

Resultat

Syftet med delstudie 1, där 456 elever deltog, var att jämföra resultaten mellan interventions- och kontrollgrupp, yrkes- och studieförberedande program, samt manliga och kvinnliga elever. Den viktigaste hypotesen var att eleverna i interventionsgruppen skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än eleverna i kontrollgruppen, både enligt mått A (självskattad etisk medvetenhet) och mått B (utveckling av påvisbar kunskap). Denna hypotes blev bara delvis bekräftad eftersom eleverna i kontrollgruppen fick ett signifikant bättre resultat enligt mått A. Eleverna i interventionsgruppen fick dock ett signifikant bättre resultat enligt mått B. En annan hypotes var att elever på högskoleförberedande program skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än elever från yrkesförberedande. Denna hypotes blev bekräftad både av mått A och av mått B. En annan hypotes var att kvinnliga elever skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än manliga. Denna hypotes bekräftades både av mått A och av mått B.
Syftet med delstudie 2, där 123 elever deltog, var att ta reda på om styrkeförhållandet mellan interventions- och kontrollgruppen vi såg i delstudie 1 skulle bestå om samma lärare undervisade i de båda grupperna. Tre av lärarna som ingick i kontrollgruppen i delstudie 1 blev därför instruerade att följa interventionsgruppens instruktioner i det som blev delstudie 2, med några klasser av samma studieinriktning som tidigare (yrkes- eller högskoleförberedande program). Hypotesen var att interventionsgruppen skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än kontrollgruppen, både enligt mått A (självskattad etisk medvetenhet) och mått B (utveckling av påvisbar kunskap). Denna hypotes blev, återigen, bara delvis bekräftad, eftersom det inte var någon signifikant skillnad grupperna enligt mått A. Enligt mått B fick dock interventionsgruppen ett signifikant bättre resultat än kontrollgruppen.

Hur kan resultaten förklaras?

Den första frågan som måste besvaras är: hur kommer det sig att hypotesen att interventionsgruppen skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än kontrollgruppen bekräftades av mått B (utvecklingen av påvisbar kunskap) men inte av mått A (självskattningen)? Tittar vi på hur grupperna var sammansatta med avseende på yrkes- och högskoleförberedande program, samt manliga och kvinnliga elever, finns inga uppenbara ledtrådar. Inte heller om vi tittar på hur många elever i interventions- respektive kontrollgruppen som uppgav att de studerat etik förut, eller hur mycket tid de olika lärarna uppgav att de lagt på etikundervisningen. Vilka de enskilda lärarna var verkar inte heller ha haft någon avgörande betydelse. Det finns visserligen variabler som inte kontrollerats i denna studie (såsom elevernas allmänna akademiska prestationsförmåga), men utifrån vad vi vet blir det en rimligt antagande att resultatet åtminstone delvis beror på de olika ”metoder” för etikundervisning som används i de båda grupperna.

Interventionsgruppens fördel enligt mått B (som var signifikant i båda delstudierna), skulle kunna förklaras av att Trestegsmodellen (den metod som dess lärare följde) till sitt upplägg var sådan att eleverna behövde lära sig vad ett etiskt problem var, hur det kunde lösas autonomt etc., för annars kom de inte igenom de tre stegen och kunde inte heller klara examinationsprovet. En sådan förklaring ger stöd åt den forskning som säger att etikundervisning
sammantaget när de bästa resultaten när den syftar till att ge studenterna kognitiva strategier för etiskt resonerande/problemlösning. Den ger också, mer specifikt, stöd till Kavathatzopoulos forskning som säger att träning i autonom problemlösning kan påverka långsiktigt hur människor relaterar till etiska problem. En annan förklaring till interventionsgruppens fördel skulle kunna vara det återkommande moment av repetition som var inbyggt i metoden. Gång på gång fick eleverna repetera vad ett etiskt problem var, hur det kunde lösas autonomt etc., vilket skedde genom att eleverna själva, i de många övningarna, fick plocka fram den kunskap de tidigare hade lärt in. Detta, tillsammans med examinationsprovet där alla stegen repeterades igen, skulle kunna ge långtidseffekter av samma slag som vi vet att upprepade prov på ett och samma kunskapsinnehåll kan ge (den s.k. testeffekten).

Kontrollgruppens fördel enligt mått A (som bara var signifikant i delstudie 1) skulle kunna förklaras av att det finns en baksida med undervisning som bygger på repetition och många övningar, nämligen att det får eleverna att tappa intresset. Kanske mindes de inte etikundervisningen som särskilt stimulerande eller känslomässigt engagerande helt enkelt därför att den var krävande. Det kan också vara så att det är svårt för en lärare att, plötsligt, börja följa en väldigt detaljerad instruktion (som han/hon känner sig bunden av) utan att förlora något av den vitalitet som kommer när man kan presentera ett material på ett mer ”spontant” sätt, med övningar som man vet kommer gå väl hem hos eleverna. Bristande vitalitet i interventionsgruppens undervisning kan vara en ytterligare förklaring till kontrollgruppens fördel.

Den andra frågan som infinner sig är: hur kommer det sig att både hypotesen att högskoleförberedande elever skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än studieförberedende, samt hypotesen att kvinnliga elever skulle få ett signifikant bättre resultat än manliga, bekräftades av både mått A och B? En viktig delförklaring till detta torde vara att andelen kvinnliga elever var större i gruppen högskoleförberedande elever, samt att kvinnor generellt har visat vara lättare att väcka etisk medvetenhet hos. I en metaanalys från 1998, där 47 studier vägdes samman, framkom att kvinnliga affärsstudenter visade en högre grad av etisk medvetenhet än manliga när de ställdes inför hypotetiska moraliska dilemma. Dessutom framkom i en studie från 2011, att bland studenter som gått en etikkurs, att (A) kvinnliga studenter visade en högre grad av etisk medvetenhet än manliga, samt att (B) studenter med generellt högre betyg visade en högre grad av etisk medvetenhet än studenter med generellt lägre betyg. Detta stämmer väl med iakttagelsen att kvinnliga elever
samt elever från högskoleförberedande program fick bättre resultat i denna
studie (eftersom båda dessa kategorier presterar förhållandevis väl akade-
miskt).

Vilka slutsatser kan dras?

Eftersom hypotesen att interventionsgruppen skulle presta signifikant
bättre än kontrollgruppen *enbart* bekräftades av mått B (utvecklingen av på-
visbar kunskap) måste det konstateras att Trestegsmodellen, i sin nuvarande
form, inte visade sig vara fullt så effektiv som jag hade förutspått. Dock var
tendensen att interventionsgruppen presterade bättre enligt mått B *starkare*
an tendensen att kontrollgruppen presterade bättre enligt mått A (självskatt-
ningen), i båda delstudierna. Därför blir den preliminära slutsatsen ändå att
Trestegsmodellen är mer effektiv än reguljär etikundervisning när det gäller
att utveckla etisk medvetenhet. Framtida studier får dock visa hur metoden
kan utvecklas. Den idé som ligger närmast till hands är att låta eleverna föra
e en journal över etiska problem som de möter i sin vardag, som en förberedelse
för det moment i undervisningen som med all sannolikhet är det viktigaste:
då de diskuterar sina egna, verkliga etiska problem (övningstyp 2B). Med
hjälp av denna journal blir det förhoppningsvis mer aktuella (och emotionellt
laddade) etiska problem som den autonoma problemlösningsförmågan appli-
ceras på. Denna intervention, menar jag, har goda möjligheter att förstärka
Trestegsmodellens långtidseffekter.
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Appendix I

Trestegsmodellen
Syfte: Ge ett mer medvetet förhållningssätt till etiska frågor och problemstillanden (eleverna vet att detta är syftet!)

**Steg 1:**
Eleverna urseriljer ett etiskt problem

Övningstyp 1: Att urserilja ett etiskt problem

- Ett förspetsytt exempel: 2-4 som de gör själva

**Steg 2:**
Eleverna löser ett problem utifrån den koncreta situationen

Övningstyp 2A: Att lösa ett etiskt problem utifrån den konkreta situationen

- Ett förspetsytt exempel: 2-4 som de gör själva

Övningstyp 2B: Att lösa ett eget problem utifrån den konkreta situationen

Eleverna gör 2-3 st

**Steg 3:**
Eleverna relaterar en vald lösning till en normativ etisk teori

Övningstyp 2A: Att relatera en lösning på ett etiskt problem till en normativ teori

- Ett förspetsytt exempel: 2-4 som de gör själva

Övningstyp 2B: Att relatera sina egna problemstillanden till etiska teorier

- Ett förspetsytt exempel: 2-4 som de gör själva

Prov: Ett etiskt problem där färskheterna på alla tre stegen prövar (tre att välja mellan)

Upprov efter ca 2 veckor (annat problem)
Trestegsmodellen för etikundervisning...

- har till syfte att eleverna utvecklar ett mer medvetet och genomtänkt förhållningssätt till etiska frågor och problemsituationer, även en längre tid efter examination.

- bedrivs, genom muntliga samtal och skriftliga övningar, i tre steg:

  1. Eleverna urskiljer ett etiskt problem
  2. Eleverna löser problemet utifrån den konkreta situationen
  3. Eleverna relaterar sin valda lösning till en normativ etisk teori

- genomförs med hjälp av fem övningstyper:

  1: Att urskilja ett etiskt problem
  2a: Att lösa ett problem utifrån den konkreta situationen
  2b: Att formulera ett egent problem som löses utifrån den konkreta situationen
  3a: Att relatera en lösning på ett etiskt problem till en normativ teori
  3b: Att relatera sina egna problemlösningar till normativa teorier

- examineras med hjälp av ett prov (i slutet av kompendiet finns tre att välja mellan, samt exempel på ett MVG/A-prov).

- tar ca 6-9 lektioner att genomföra, beroende på hur mycket tid eleverna behöver för varje övningstyp.

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1 Med detta menas: en förenklad variant av klassisk utilitarism respektive kantiansk pliktetik.
**STEG1: Instruktioner**

- Inför första lektionen: kopiera upp varje övning i steg 1 så att de räcker till alla elever. (De får samtala med varandra men ska lösa problemen individuellt.)

- Ta också med plastfickor till alla elever som de sparar sina övningar i (alternativet: du tar hand om plastfickorna.)

- Förklara vad etik handlar om – koppla samman med religionsämnet.

- Berätta om något etiskt problem som du själv har ställt inför!

- Dela ut presentationspapper. Förklara för dem vad de tre stegen (urskilja ett etiskt problem, lösa problemet utifrån den konkreta situationen, relatera lösningen till en normativ etisk teori) kommer att gå ut på så att de vet vad de har framför sig. Berätta att de kommer att få göra ett prov där de visar att de lärt sig de här sakerna, och att muntligt deltagande är bra för deras betyg i religionsämnet som helhet.

- Poängtera för dem att syftet är att de ska bli mer medvetna om hur de beter sig i verkliga livet, att de ska bli mer medvetna om vilka val de har i olika situationer (och att detta kan hjälpa dem att fatta klokare beslut).

- Gå igenom den första, redan gjorda, övningen med eleverna och se till att de förstår.

- Låt eleverna göra de resterande övningarna i steg 1 självständigt, men dela inte ut en ny övning förrän du bedömer att klassen är klar med den gamla.

- Gå runt och kontrollera att de gör rätt. Om en elev inte förstår: ge eleven ett korrekt svar som han/hon skriver ner. Samtala med klassen om den övning som den just har gjort.


- Viktigt också att tänka på: i fråga om flera av övningarna finns det flera relevanta etiska problem som kan urskiljas (men det räcker att de urskiljer ett).

- Tips: börja gärna lektion två med den sista övningen i steg 1. Då får de en repetition av lektion ett. (Särskilt viktigt om det är lång tid mellan lektionerna.)

ÖVNINGSTYP 1: ATT URSKILJA ETT ETISKT PROBLEM

Ett etiskt problem uppstår när man inte vet om något är rätt att göra i förhållande till någon annan. Du ska, i dessa övningar

- tala om vilket du tror är personens etiska problem;
- tala om varför det är ett problem för den personen.

ÖVNING 1 (EXEMPEL):

Per och Lennart är kolleger på en arbetsplats. Lennart har, vid flera tillfällen, fått höra några andra kolleger baktala Per på ett sätt som skulle göra honom sårad om han fick veta det. **Vilket tror du är det etiska problem som Lennart just nu står inför? Varför är det ett problem för honom? (Du ska formulera problemet, inte lösa det.)**

*Exempel på godkänt svar:*

Lennart vet inte om det är rätt av honom att berätta för Per vad han har fått höra. Detta eftersom han vet att Per då skulle bli sårad.

*Annan exempel på godkänt svar:*

Lennart vet inte om det är rätt av honom att **inte** berätta för Per vad han fått höra. Detta eftersom han vet att detta kan leda till att Per får värre problem med kollegerna i framtiden.

*Däremot:*

Lennart vet inte om det är rätt av honom att berätta för Per vad han har fått höra. Detta eftersom Per då kan bli väldigt jobbig mot honom i framtiden.

(Om man bara vill hindra att någon blir jobbig mot en själv i framtiden, är det inget etiskt problem!)
ÖVNING 2:


Arnold vet inte om det är rätt av honom att ____________________________

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Detta eftersom ____________________________

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ÖVNING 3:

Angelica har under en tid haft svårt att bli av med en kille som hon pratat med på puben, och som tog reda på hennes telefonnummer fast hon inte gav det till honom. Han har nu slutat ringa till henne och ångerfullt bett om ursäkt. Hon har godtagit ursäkten och sagt att allt är ok. Så en dag ser Angelica på Facebook att han vill bli hennes vän. **Vilket tror du är det etiska problem som Angelica just nu står inför? Varför är det ett problem för henne? (Du ska formulera problemet, inte lösa det.)**

Angelica vet inte om det är rätt av henne att

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Detta eftersom

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ÖVNING 4:

Gunhild har en dotterson som hon har mycket svårt att hantera. Pojken är hyperaktiv och kräver ständig tillsyn, samtidigt som det blivit alltmer viktigt för Gunhild att få njuta sin pensionärstillvaro efter ett hårt liv av arbete och barnuppostran. Så berättar Gunhilds dotter en dag för henne att hon och hennes man ska resa bort i två veckor och att de inte vet var de ska göra av pojken. **Vilket tror du är det etiska problem som Gunhild just nu står inför? Varför är det ett problem för henne? (Du ska formulera problemet, inte lösa det.)**
ÖVNING 5:

Exempel på godkända svar, övningstyp 1

ÖVNING 2: Arnold vet inte om det är rätt av honom att inte berätta vad han vet för dotterns mamma. Detta eftersom dottern trots allt är deras gemensamma.

ÖVNING 3: Angelica vet inte om det är rätt av henne att neka killen att bli hennes vän. Detta eftersom hon vet att han då skulle bli sårad.

ÖVNING 4: Gunhild vet inte om det är rätt av henne att inte erbjuda sig att ta hand om pojken. Detta eftersom hon vill sin dotter väl och vill göra vad hon kan för henne.

ÖVNING 5: Charlie vet inte om det är rätt av honom att tala om för föräldrarna att pojken troligtvis aldrig kommer att kunna bli musiker. Detta eftersom han vet att detta kommer att göra dem ledsna.
STEG 2: Instruktioner


- När man löser ett etiskt problem heteronom följer man en regel eller auktoritet. Man är låst vid en princip, till exempel:
  "Så gör man alltid!"
  "Så har jag alltid gjort!"
  "Så gör vi på vårt företag!"
  (Det innebär inte att man gör fel men man tänker inte riktigt själv.)


- Låt eleverna göra övningstyp 2A. Gör som i steg 1: gå runt och kontrollera deras svar, och hjälp dem om de har svårt.

- När du kontrollerar deras svar, bry dig inte så mycket om vilket handlingsalternativ de väljer som att de kan motivera varför de väljer det, varför de menar att det skulle göra situationen bättre. Detta är en träning i att motivera!

- En alltför kortfattad motivering till lösningen, som "det känns bäst så", eller enbart en hänvisning till en regel, som "människan har alltid åtit kött" godkänns inte. Ju fler intressen som lösningen tillgodosjer, desto mer användbar blir den. Självständighet, kreativitet och vidsyn premiersas!

- Samtal med klassen om den övning som den just har gjort.

- Övningstyp 2B är den viktigaste i hela undervisningen! Se till att varje elev gör åtminstone 2-3 stycken av denna typ. Ju mer personliga och sanningsenliga eleverna kan vara när de väljer ett etiskt problem att lösa, desto bättre. (Kan de inte komma på ett "egent" etiskt problem är det bättre att de hittar på än att de inte skriver någonting.)

- Se återigen till att de förstått vad ett etiskt problem är. Se också till att de kan ge en ordentlig motivering till sin lösning och inte "gener" för mycket.
ÖVNINGSTYP 2A: ATT LÖSA ETT PROBLEM UTIFRÅN DEN KONKRETA SITUATIONEN

Att lösa ett problem utifrån den konkreta situationen – autonomt – innebär att man löser det **utan** att hänvisa till en etisk regel eller annan auktoritet (eller ignorera problemet).

ÖVNING 1 (EXEMPEL)

Kalle går på stan då en kvinna kommer fram till honom, förklarar att hon är mycket fattig och ber honom att skänka pengar. Det etiska problem som Kalle står inför är att han inte vet om det är rätt av honom att bara gå därifrån, eftersom han då inte hjälper henne på det sätt som han skulle kunna.

**Beskriv minst tre möjliga sätt för Kalle att lösa problemet. Berätta vilket du skulle välja om du var han och motivera ditt svar utifrån den konkreta situationen.**

_Exempel på godkänt svar:_

Kalle kan A. gå därifrån som han tänkte från början; han kan B. ge pengar till kvinnan som hon ber om, C. visa kvinnan vägen till närmaste arbetsförmedling, D. erbuda henne städdjobb i sitt hem.

Om jag var Kalle skulle jag visa henne vägen till närmaste arbetsförmedling, eftersom jag då har hjälpt henne mer långsiktigt – om hon själv väljer att ta tag i sin situation. Det hade känsts mer meningsfullt än att bara ge henne pengar.

_Däremot:_

Om jag var Kalle skulle jag **utan** visa henne vägen till närmaste arbetsförmedling, eftersom jag inte tycker att man ska ge pengar till tiggare.

(Att man ”inte ska ge pengar till tiggare” är en regel!)
ÖVNING 2:

Jessica har under hela sitt liv varit djurvän. Så råkar hon en dag få se ett dokumentärprogram på TV, som visar hur grisar behandlas i svenska fabriker på väg till slakt. Förhållanden var värre än hon trodde (grisar som skriker, ben som bryts etc.) och hon blir illa berörd. Det etiska problem som Jessica står inför är att hon inte vet om det är rätt av henne att äta kött, eftersom hon då stödjer den djurhantering som hon är motståndare till. **Beskriv minst tre möjliga sätt för Jessica att lösa problemet. Berätta vilket du skulle välja om du var hon och motivera ditt svar utifrån den konkreta situationen.**

Jessica kan__________________________________________________________

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Om jag var Jessica skulle jag__________________________________________

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KOPIERINGSUNDERLAG
ÖVNING 3:


Anna kan

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Om jag var Anna skulle jag

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ÖVNING 4:

ÖVNING 5:

**Exempel på godkända svar, övningstyp 2 A**

ÖVNING 2: Jessica kan A. fortsätta att äta kött som vanligt, B. sluta helt att äta kött eller C. gå över till att bara äta fisk. Om jag var Jessica skulle jag gå över till att bara äta fisk, eftersom jag då skulle sluta att stödja den djurhantering som jag är motståndare till. Samtidigt skulle jag utan problem kunna äta mat tillsammans med andra människor.

ÖVNING 3: Anna kan A. neka kvinnan jobbet, B. ge henne jobbet trots övervikten eller C. förklara för henne hur det ligger till och att hon bara kan få jobbet på villkor att hon deltar i ett viktminskningsprogram. Om jag var Anna skulle jag välja alternativ C, eftersom vi då får en kompetent medarbetare till företaget, jag slipper diskriminera någon, samtidigt som kvinnan får en morot att ta tag i sitt hälsoproblem.

ÖVNING 4: Peter kan A. neka eleven att göra en komplettering, B. låta honom göra en komplettering om han lovär att hålla tyst om det eller C. låta hela klassen få göra en komplettering. Om jag var Peter skulle jag låta honom komplettera om han lovär att hålla tyst om det, eftersom jag då hjälper honom på det sätt jag kan, och klassen inte behöver känna sig orättvist behandlad, samtidigt som jag sparar en massa arbete åt mig själv. (Och så försöker jag att inte lova något liknande i framtiden.)

ÖVNING 5: Niklas kan A. göra som chefen säger, B. trotsa chefens order eller C. välja ut vissa kunder som han berättar för. Om jag var Niklas skulle jag göra som chefen säger, eftersom jag då har större chans att avancera till en bättre position i företaget, och därifrån påverka de anställda att använda mer etiska försäljningsmetoder.
ÖVNINGSTYP 2B: FORMULERA EGET PROBLEM SOM DU LÖSER UTIFRÅN DEN KONKRETA SITUATIONEN


(Tips om du har svårt att komma på något: Gå tillbaka i minnet till något som du tycker att du gjorde fel i förhållande till någon annan, kanske för att du följde första impulsen. Hur kunde du ha gjort istället, om du hade tänkt efter?)


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KOPIERINGSUNDERLAG  ÖT 2B, S. 1
2. Beskriv vilka de möjliga lösningarna var, det vill säga vilka valmöjligheter som personen hade (det ska vara minst tre stycken). Tala om vilken av dem som du idag hade valt och motivera ditt svar utifrån den konkreta situationen.
**STEG 3: Instruktioner**

**Introduktion (förslag)**

- Förklara för dem att det nu handlar om att ta steget till det som filosoferna diskuterar. *Hur kommer man fram till om något är rätt eller fel? (Även om man följer lagen kan man göra moraliskt fel ändå, till exempel om man följer hastighetsbegränsningen när någon snabbt måste till sjukhus.)*

- Förklara att det finns olika synsätt och att du ska fokusera på två av dem: konsekvensetik och pliktetik. (Om du vill kan du även ta upp sinnelsagsetiken.) Ni ska lära er att använda er av dessa som stöd när ni fattar viktiga beslut.

- Konsekvensetiken: en handling är rätt om den ger bättre *konsekvenser* än andra handlingar. Den mest kända konsekvensetiken: *utilitarianismen*.


**Om utilitarianismen**

- Utilitarianism (nyttomoral) är ett sätt att tänka. Enligt utilitarianismen är det bara *nyttan* med en handling som räknas. Ingen handling kan vara *i sig* rätt eller fel.

- Enligt den *klassiska* utilitarianismen (formulerad av Bentham och Mill) är en handling rätt om och endast om den, i en given situation, skapar det största överskottet av lust och lycka i förhållande till olust och olycka.

- Lust och lycka mäts, enligt den, i *varaktighet, intensitet* och *antal berörda*. Slagord: största möjliga lycka för största möjliga antal.

- Bra exempel på vad utilitarister (till skillnad från till exempel kantianer) kan tycka är rätt: en offentlig lögn för att skydda medborgarna i ett samhälle.

- En utilitarist anser också att man måste ta ekonomiska hänsyn när man (till exempel) diskuterar om det ska vara tillåtet eller ej med dödshjälp för svårt sjuka/handikappade. Hur mycket kostar det att låta dem leva? Är det värt det?

- Enligt detta synsätt har således ärlighet, rättvisa, bevarande av människoliv inget egenvärde. Det enda som har egenvärde är den lycka man skapar (eller den olycka man tar bort).

- Vad ni ska lära er är att *bedöma en handling med hjälp av utilitarianismen*, och på det sättet ta reda på om den är rätt eller fel enligt detta synsätt.

- När du förklarat utilitarianismen, låt dem få göra *övning 1-2* av övningstyp 3A.
ÖVNINGSTYP 3A: ATT RELATERA EN LÖSNING PÅ ETT ETISKT PROBLEM TILL EN NORMATIV TEORI

ÖVNING 1 (EXEMPEL: UTILITARISM)

Lisa har varit otrogen mot sin pojkvän Pelle. Hon har kommit fram till att det etiskt rätta är att inte säga något till honom, utan vidhålla att hon besökte en väninna, eftersom hon inte vill svara honom och inte har några planer på att vara otrogen igen. Vad tror du att en klassisk utilitarist skulle tycka om Lisas beslut? Varför?

Exempel på godkänt svar:

En klassisk utilitarist skulle nog tycka att beslutet var klokt eftersom det inte skapar onödigt lidande. Om inte Pelle vet om vad Lisa gjort mår han ju heller inte dåligt av det (så länge ingen annan heller berättar).

Däremot:

En klassisk utilitarist skulle nog tycka att beslutet var dumt eftersom Lisa först är otrogen och sedan ljuger om det – så kan man ju inte vara mot sin partner.

(Inom utilitarismen finns inga förbud mot att vara otrogen eller ljuga, så länge det inte skapar lidande.)
ÖVNING 2 (UTILITARISM)

Kalle arbetar som försäljare på ett företag som säljer mobil- och bredbandslösningar. Han har blivit instruerad av sin chef att inte berätta för de kunder som han ringer till att det tillkommer en extra avgift utöver det månadspris som anges – om de inte direkt frågar om det. Kalle väljer dock ändå att berätta om den avgift som tillkommer, eftersom han tycker att det är värt priset att få en tillsägelse av chefen, om han slipper lura oskyldiga människor. **Vad tror du att en klassisk utilitarist skulle tycka om Kalles beslut? Varför?**
Om Kants etik

- Förslag till inledande samtal med klassen: Är det alltid fel att ljuga? Skulle vi kunna ha ett samhälle där alla ljuger så mycket som de vill?

- Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) var pliktetiker. Enligt honom måste det vara fel att ljuga, eftersom man då inte kan vilja att andra gör likadant.

- Enligt Kant vet vi i vår förnuft vad som är rätt respektive fel, det vill säga vilka plikter som gäller. Gud har gett människan den kunskapen (Kant var kristen).

- För att vi ska handla rätt måste vi följa vårt förnuft och handla av plikt och inte av medkänsla (annars kommer vi att ryckas med av personliga sympatier). Samma plikter ska gälla för alla, och alltid.


- Utifrån detta blir vissa plikter ovillkorliga, till exempel att man alltid ska tala sanning, alltid hålla ett löfte, alltid hjälpa den som är i nöd, aldrig döda en oskyldig människa. Det är, enligt Kant, inte rimligt att man bryter mot dessa plikter och samtidigt vill att andra ska göra likadant.

- Exempel: den som ljuger kan bara komma undan med detta i ett samhälle där det stora flertalet människor är ärliga. Han eller hon kan inte vilja upphöja lögnen till allmän lag. Därför är den fel enligt Kant.

- Invändning mot Kant: ibland kan plikterna krocka med varandra och därför måste man, när man följer hans etik, prioritera bland dem. (Till exempel om man ljuger lite för att skydda en vän som kan råka illa ut – då prioritserar man att hjälpa någon i nöd framför att tala sanning.)

- Vad ni ska lära er är att pröva en handling mot det kategoriska imperativet, och på det sättet ta reda på om den är rätt eller fel, enligt Kant. ("Skulle det fungera om alla gjorde på det här sättet?")

- När du förklarat Kants etik, låt dem få göra övning 3, därefter resten av övnningarna 3A. När du kontrollerar deras svar: se framför allt till att de har förstått hur man använder de olika teorierna (så att de inte t.ex. blandar in konsekvenstänkande när de bedömer vad en kantian skulle tycka om en lösning).

- Övningstyp 3B: Se här till att de använder sig av ett eget etiskt problem, att de förklarar varför de löste det som de gjorde – och att de kan tillämpa de båda teorierna på det. En ordentligt genomförd övning av denna typ räcker.

ÖZNING 3 (KANTIANISM)

Zanas dotter på sju år kommer till Ulla med en teckning som hon har ritat och frågar om den är fin. Ulla har alltid tidigare svarat som det förväntats av henne (någon variant på ja) men väljer nu att svara ”nej, försök att rita lite noggrannare så blir det bättre” eftersom hon märkt att hon känner sig obekväm när hon inte talar sanning. Dessutom är det bättre för dottern, tänker hon, att omge sig med vuxna som säger som det är. **Vad tror du att en kantiansk pliktetiker skulle tycka om Ullas beslut? Varför?**
ÖVNING 4 (UTILITARISM OCH KANTIANISM)

ÖVNING 5 (UTILITARISM OCH KANTIANISM)

**Exempel på godkända svar, övningstyp 3A**

ÖVNING 2: En utilitarist skulle nog tycka att det var bra, dels för att det inte blir obehagliga konsekvenser för kunder som luras, dels för att Kalle slipper få dåligt samvete. (Däremot skulle det inte vara bra om det ledde till att Kalle förlorade jobbet.)

ÖVNING 3: En kantian skulle tycka att det var rätt av Ulla att säga som det är, eftersom lögnen inte kan upphöjas till allmän lag (i ett fungerande samhälle).

ÖVNING 4: En utilitarist skulle inte tycka att det gjorde någonting att Lasse inte röstar – det får ju inga dåliga konsekvenser (om han inte drar med sig en massa andra människor). En kantian däremot, skulle nog tycka att Lasses beslut var fel, eftersom han knappast skulle vilja upphöja till allmän lag att man inte ska rösta, dvs. framföra sin åsikt (hela vårt demokratiska samhälle bygger ju på att människor gör det).

ÖVNING 5: Utilitaristen har inga invändningar mot Azzers beslut eftersom han förkortar kvinnans lidande och familjen inte heller drabbas negativt av beslutet. Kantianen däremot skulle kunna vara motståndare till att man dödar ett oskyldigt liv, eftersom detta inte generellt är någon handling som kan upphöjas till allmän lag. (Däremot kan man ju säga att Azzer också räddar kvinnan i en nödsituation och det är ju något man, enligt Kant, ska göra.)
ÖVNINGSTYP 3B: ATT RELATERA SINA EGNA PROBLEMLÖSNINGAR TILL ETISKA TEORIER

Du ska nu relatera dina egna, verkliga etiska problem (övningstyp 2B) till olika etiska teorier. Välj ut ett problem som du tycker att du löste på ett bra sätt!


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Övningstyp 3 B
INFÖR PROVET: BETYGSKRITERIER

Provet du kommer att få bestå av en historia som du gör till etiskt problem och sedan löser.

- För betyget E ska du visa att du kan **urskilja** det etiska problemet, motivera **varför** det är ett etiskt problem samt **lösa** det utifrån den konkreta situationen.

- För betyget C ska du dessutom, på ett godtagbart sätt, kunna **relatera** din valda lösning till de etiska teorierna (utilitarism och kantianism). Det ska märkas att du har förstått skillnaden mellan dem.

- För betyget A ska du dessutom på ett **tydligt** sätt kunna urskilja och motivera problemet, på ett **övertygande** sätt kunna förklara varför du väljer den lösning som du väljer, samt på ett **nyanserat och utfört** sätt kunna resonera dig fram till vad en utilitarist respektive en kantian skulle tycka (svaren är inte alltid enkla).
**PROVET: Instruktioner**

- Välj ut ett prov som du tror skulle passa klassen. Vid omprovstillfälle (endast ett, ca två veckor senare) ta ett annat.

- Se till att de har 60-80 minuter på sig.

- Säg åt dem att börja med att läsa igenom provet ordentligt.

- Förklara för dem om det finns ord i provet som de inte förstår, men förklara inte för dem t.ex. vad de etiska teorierna innebär. Det ska de ha förstått.

- När du rättar proven, kom ihåg att det viktigaste är att de löser problemet enligt de instruktioner som de tränat på. (Ett svar där de etiska teorierna t.ex. förs in redan under fråga två godkänns inte.)
PROV I ETIK

Namn och klass

Linda är sedan länge nära kompis med Fredrik. Fredrik är lite udda och inte alltid så lätt att ha att göra med. Han är snäll men klarar inte alltid av att uppföra sig ”rätt” i sociala sammanhang; han har heller inga andra vänner som han umgås med. (Han har även visat ett fysiskt intresse för Linda, vilket hon har avvisat med att vara tydlig med att de bara är vänner. Fredrik, som är känslig, har accepterat detta men blev mycket sårad.) Så blir Linda bjuden till en fest med mingel och fin middag. Till festen får man ta med sig en kompis. Fredrik vet att Linda har blivit bjuden.


PROV I ETIK

Namn och klass

Göran är uthyrare inom ett större, privat bostadsbolag i en stad där det är brist på hyresbostäder. På bolagets hemsida står att köttiden för en lägenhet är ca 7-9 år, men att undantag kan göras i ”särskilt ömmande fall”. Detta har bland annat inneburit att bolaget ibland har upplåtit lägenheter till socialförvaltningen när den behövt plats för nyanlända, asylsökande flyktingar. I övrigt är uthyrningen strikt kontrollerad och man måste, om man vill hyra, göra en ansökan via bolagets hemsida. Officiellt finns inga gräddfiler till en hyresbostad. Så ringer en dag en gammal vän, tillika affärsbekant, till Göran. Han berättar att hans dotter behöver någonstans att bo när hon tar studenten om tre månader.

1. Vilket, skulle du säga, är det etiska problem som Göran står inför?
Varför är det ett problem för honom?

Berätta vilket du skulle välja om du var han och förklara varför du anser att den lösningen, i den här situationen, skulle vara den bästa.

KOPIERINGSUNDERLAG
Hur tror du att en kantiansk pliktetiker skulle bedöma den? Varför?
PROV I ETIK

Namn och klass


Appendix II

Övriga dokument samt några elevsvar

Interventionsgruppens instruktioner
Kontrollgruppens instruktioner
Medgivandeblankett elever
Förtest elever
Eftertest elever
Underlag för lärarsamtal
Bedömningsmall
Några elevsvar
Hans Teke, doktorand i utbildningsvetenskap

TILL DIG SOM HJÄLPER MIG MED ATT PRÖVA UT TRESTEGSMODELLEN FÖR ETIKUNDERVISNING

Först och främst: du gör en mycket värdefull insats!

Under en period på ca 7-8 lektioner, som du själv lägger där det passar dig inom religionsundervisningen, ska du med mig som handledare använda den s.k. trestegsmodellen. Det kommer att gå till så här:

1. Du får pärmen med anvisningar.


3. Inför första lektionen i etik kommer jag att vara med i klassrummet, presentera mig för eleverna, berätta om projektet och låta dem göra ett förtest.

4. Du kör på egen hand.

5. Efter tredje lektionen träffas vi igen för ny handledning. Vi kommer då att gå igenom det sista steget i modellen, samt provet, tillsammans. Du kommer sannolikt också att ha egna frågor och tankar!


7. Ca ½ månad efter att eleverna gjort prov (och omprov) kommer jag tillbaka och ger eleverna ett eftertest. Detta ska ske, för eleverna, oförberett.

Som tack för att du hjälper mig kommer du att få ett intyg, undertecknat av mig och min professor, på att du deltagit i detta forskningsprojekt och på detta sätt fortbildat dig. Du kommer också att erbjudas möjligheten att delta i seminarier på Campus Helsingborg.

Har du några frågor så hör av dig!
ETIKUNDERVISNING – INSTRUKTIONER TILL DIG SOM HJÄLPER MIG


2. Gör klart för eleverna att syftet med undervisningen är att de ska bli bättre på att upptäcka etiska problem i verkliga livet, och utveckla sin förmåga att göra medvetna etiska val.


4. Låt eleverna diskutera olika lösningar. När de har åsikter, se till att de kan ge en rationell motivering till dessa (för det har de ofta svårt för). ”Så gör man bara inte” eller ”Det är fel att göra så” räcker inte som motivering.


Så här går det till:

A. Jag kommer och ger dem ett förtest, innan du har presenterat etikämnet för dem.
B. Du kör din etikundervisning (6-9 på varandra följande lektioner) och ger ev. omprov ca två veckor efter ordinarie examinationstillfälle.
C. Du undervisar så ”etikfritt” som möjligt under ca 10-12 veckor (dvs. ingen repetition).

Som tack för din medverkan får du ett fortbildningsintyg från Lunds universitet.
ERBJUDAN ATT VARA MED I FORSKNINGS PROJEKT


Din uppgift, om du väljer att vara med, blir att fylla i ett test före och ett test efter den genomförda undervisningen, där svarar på frågor om vad undervisningen har betytt för dig. Din lärare kommer inte att få se det du skriver för mig och allt material kommer att förvaras, anonymiserat, i ett kassaskåp. Endast jag och min handledare kommer att ha tillgång till materialet när det sedan ska bearbetas.

Resultatet redovisas i en doktorsavhandling som kommer att bli allmänt tillgänglig. I den kommer inga namn på elever, skolor eller städer att anges – ditt deltagande kommer alltså att förbli anonymt.

Jag värdesätter om du vill delta i mitt projekt genom att fylla i de test jag delar ut, men naturligtvis är det helt frivilligt. Du kan när som helst kontakta mig om du har några frågor. Forskningshuvudman för projektet är Lunds universitet.

hans.teke@uvet.lu.se
073-9291001

JA, jag samtycker till att vara med i detta forskningsprojekt.

Datum:____________________

För- och efternamn:________________________________________________________

Namnförtydligande:________________________________________________________

Dokumentet upprättas i två exemplar varav forskningspersonen behåller det ena.
FRÅGOR INFÖR ETIKUNDERVISNING

Du ska snart få vara med om etikundervisning. Innan dess skulle jag dock vilja att du svarar på några frågor. OBS! Det påverkar inte ditt betyg.

Namn och klass

Jag har studerat etik/moralfilosofi tidigare.

Ja_nej (ringa in rätt svar)

1. Lisa står och funderar på vad hon ska ha på sig till festen, och det är inte lätt. ”Kan man verkligen ha rosa skor till svart kjol?” tänker hon.
   Varför är detta inte ett etiskt problem?

2. Ge ett exempel på något som är (eller skulle kunna vara) ett etiskt problem/dilemma!
3 a) Hur skulle du vilja lösna detta problem?

b) Varför?

4. Vad handlar Kants pliktetik om?
5. Vad handlar utilitarismen om?


Tack för din medverkan!
Hans
Hans Teke, doktorand i utbildningsvetenskap

FRÅGOR EFTER ETIKUNDERVISNING


Namn och klass

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA STÄLLNING TILL FÖLJANDE PÅSTÄENDEN:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Efter etikundervisningen har jag blivit bättre på att upptäcka etiska problem i min vardag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instämmer helt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2. Efter etikundervisningen har jag blivit bättre på att hitta lösningar på de etiska problem som jag upptäcker. |
| Instämmer helt | Instämmer till stor del | Instämmer lite grann | Instämmer inte alls | Kan inte svara |
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

| 3. Efter etikundervisningen funderar jag mer på hur jag beter mig mot andra. |
| Instämmer helt | Instämmer till stor del | Instämmer lite grann | Instämmer inte alls | Kan inte svara |
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

| 4. Efter etikundervisningen har jag blivit bättre på att argumentera för vad jag tycker är rätt och fel. |
| Instämmer helt | Instämmer till stor del | Instämmer lite grann | Instämmer inte alls | Kan inte svara |
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

| 5. Efter etikundervisningen har jag blivit mer intresserad av etiska frågor. |
| Instämmer helt | Instämmer till stor del | Instämmer lite grann | Instämmer inte alls | Kan inte svara |
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
Svara på följande frågor:

1. Lisa står och funderar på vad hon ska ha på sig till festen, och det är inte lätt. "Kan man verkligen ha rosa skor till svart kjol?" tänker hon. Varför är detta inte ett etiskt problem?

2. Ge ett exempel på något som är (eller skulle kunna vara) ett etiskt problem/dilemma!

3 a) Hur skulle du vilja lösa detta problem?
b) Varför?

4. Vad handlar Kants pliktetik om?

5. Vad handlar utilitarismen om?

_Tack för din medverkan!_  
Hans
Hans Teke, doktorand i utbildningsvetenskap
Enkät för dig som hjälper mig att pröva ut etikundervisning (fylls i med hjälp av samtal)

LÄRARES NAMN, SKOLA

1. Aktuell grupp:

2. Vilket datum startade du undervisningen?

3. Vilket datum hade du examination?

4. Hur många lektioner tog det, allt som allt?

5. Vilka veckodagar och tider låg lektionerna på?

6. Ta ställning till följande påstående: när jag undervisade följde jag till punkt och pricka de instruktioner jag fått.

   Instämmer helt   Instämmer till stor del   Instämmer lite grann   Instämmer inte alls   Kan inte svara
   □   □   □   □   □

7. Övriga noteringar:

   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________
   _________________________________________________________________
BEDÖMNINGSMAKL FÖR- OCH EFTERTEST

(Poängskala 1-4)

FÖRTESTET OCH ANDRA DELEN AV EFTERTESTET

Fråga 1: Svaret ska visa att eleven vet något om vad som skiljer rätt och fel inom etiken från rätt och fel inom andra områden. Svar som är cirkulära, t.ex. ”det handlar inte om etik/någon moralisk fråga” = 1 poäng. Svar av typen ”det berör ingen annan/det skapar inga dåliga konsekvenser för någon” = 2 poäng.

Fråga 2: Svaret ska visa att eleven kan ge ett exempel på ett etiskt problem utan att blanda ihop det med t.ex. etikett, etnicitet eller rent egenintresse. Svar som inte gör detta = 1 poäng. Svar som gör det knapphändigt eller otydligt, t.ex. ”otrohet” eller som beskriver en situation utan att formulerar problemet = 2 poäng. Svar som formulerar explicit vad problemet är, t.ex. ”en kompis pojkvän är otrogen och så vet man inte om man ska berätta det för henne” = 3 poäng.

Fråga 3: Svaret ska visa att eleven kan föreslå en relevant lösning och motivera den på ett relevant sätt. Svar som inte löser problemet = 1 poäng. Svar som löser problemet men inte ger någon (icine-cirkulär) motivering, t.ex. ”Jag skulle berätta, för det vore det rätta att göra” = 2 poäng. Svar som löser problemet och ger en (icine-cirkulär) motivering, t.ex. ”Jag skulle berätta, för det är min plikt som kompis” = 3 poäng. Svar som löser problemet och dessutom ger en välutvecklad motivering (tar flera aspekter i beaktande), t.ex. ”Jag skulle berätta, för det är min plikt som kompis och det skulle långsiktigt vara bättre även för henne.” = 4 poäng.

Fråga 4: Svaret ska visa att eleven är på rätt spår när det gäller en förståelse av Kants pliktetik. Svar som inte gör det = 1 poäng. Svar som är mycket allmänt hällna, t.ex. ”man ska följa sina plikter” = 2 poäng. Svar som visar att eleven kan parafrasera det kategoriska imperativet = 3 poäng.

Fråga 5: Svaret ska visa att eleven är på rätt spår när det gäller en förståelse av utilitarismen. Svar som inte gör det = 1 poäng. Svar som är mycket allmänt hällna, t.ex. ”man ska se till konsekvenserna” = 2 poäng. Svar som parafrasera ”största möjliga lycka för största möjliga antal” = 3 poäng.

FÖRSTA DELEN AV EFTERTESTET

Kan inte svara/instämmer inte alls = 1 poäng
Instämmer lite grann = 2 poäng
Instämmer till stor del = 3 poäng
Instämmer helt = 4 poäng
Några elevsvar

Nedan redovisas några exempel på elevsvar på fråga 2 i eftertestet, del B: *Ge exempel på något som är (eller skulle kunna vara) ett etiskt problem/dilemma*! (1-3 poäng).

Svar som fick 1 poäng:

"När det är mer än en person inblandad."

"Politik att många tycker olika."

"att de bara finns en gud"

"om det om fattar te.x. hela Skåne"

"om hon och hennes kompis ska ha likadana kläder"

Svar som fick 2 poäng:

"Ett tåg färdas mot 3 personer, om man drar i en spak byter något av dem och färdas istället mot endast en person"

"om hennes alternativ av klädsel skulle kunna kränka någon så skulle det vara ett etiskt problem"

"om man vill skada en annan människa i huvudet med en bandyklubb"

"stjäla i en nödsituation"

"Att ett företag dumpar farliga avfall i sjöar, påverkar naturen eller typ något annat som berör eller påverkar andra."

Svar som fick 3 poäng:

"Flyktingar vill komma hit, men vi har ingen plats. Hur gör vi?"

"Får jag döda en terrorist för att rädda livet på 10 oskyldiga?"

"Lisa röker och berättar detta för sin pappa. Hon ber honom att inte berätta för mamman men pappan vet inte hur han ska göra."

"Om det fattas spelare till en laguttagning och de kallar in en spelare i efterhand. Denna spelare känner då att han/hon bara blir inkallad för att det fattas spelare och inte på hans/hennes prestationer. Ska spelaren välja att hjälpa sina lagcamrater eller strunta i det?"

"Nån går upp i vikt och man vet inte ifall man ska säga eller inte så han/hon börjar banta"